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1 Killed, 11 Wounded

Jewish Terrorists Attack Hebron Bus

Jewish terrorists attacked an Arab bus on its way from Jerusalem to Hebron with a rocket October 28 killing one passenger and wounding 11 others. The attack sparked demonstrations and protests by Arab residents in Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Hebron.

The attack, the second against Palestinian residents since the capture of the Jewish terrorist ring known as Terror *Neged* (Against) Terror (TNT) last April, occurred around 3:30 pm. The bus belonging to the Hebron National Bus Company was carrying more than 70 passengers, mostly workers from the village of Sa'ir in the Hebron area. The bus was stopped as it climbed a hill above the Hinnon Valley (Wadi Rababeh) in West Jerusalem on the main Jerusalem-Hebron road. A rocket tore through the rear of the bus above the rear exit.

One of the wounded, Jamal Isma'il al-Matwar, a 20-year-old student at Hebron University, died from his wounds before reaching hospital. Two with serious injuries were taken to Hadassah Hospital, where they remain in critical condition. Eight others with minor less severe injuries were taken to Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem. Makassed Hospital sources said that all the wounded but one were released after receiving treatment.

Khalil Qawasmi, 40, who is undergoing treatment in Makassed Hospital for head injuries, told *Al Fajr* he was sitting in the middle of the bus when the rocket hit. "I felt something strike and shake the bus and then something hit me in the ear," he said. He added that he rushed out of the bus along with the others and fell to the ground unconscious. When he woke up, he found himself in hospital.

Qawasmi, a day labourer and father of six children, said he was later told that an Arab passing by when the incident took place carried him in his car to hospital.

Describing the moments after the attack, the bus driver told reporters that the sound of the explosion pierced his ears. "I have never heard an explosion like that before in my life. The passengers began to yell, 'stop, stop,' and before I found out what was happening, they began jumping out of the windows," he said. "I turned around and all that I could see was blood. I realised people had been injured but I had no idea how it happened," he continued.

Most of the victims were taken to hospital in private cars by people who happened to be passing on that road. Israeli police arrived later and summoned ambulances to evacuate the rest.

On inspecting the area, Israeli police found a rocket launcher abandoned on the adjoining hillside, about 20 metres above the road. The rocket was identified as a Light Anti-Tank Weapon (LAW), an American-made, shoulder-held rocket largely used by the Israeli army. Israel Radio reported October 31 that the Israeli army made an internal investigation and found that no rockets were missing. The radio quoted Israeli officers as saying that the weapon could have been stolen during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Investigators found a hand-written letter in Hebrew signed

Last minute attempts to save Jamal Isma'il al-Matwar, who later died of his wounds in hospital. /RI photo

the "Avengers" on the hillside. The note stated that the attack was in revenge for the killing of two Israelis near Cremisan Monastery in Beit Jala last week. "For every Jew that is killed, we will kill two Arabs," the letter threatened.

The letter, which was written in red ink, also listed three conditions for stopping the attacks: that the killer of the two Israelis be given the death penalty, that every Palestinian who attacks Jews be given the death penalty and that all members of the Jewish terrorist group (TNT) who are in jail be freed immediately.

The letter also contained information about a grenade attack against Arab residen the Old City of Jerusalem September in which four Arabs sitting in a coffee shop were wounded. Israeli police said at the time that the coffee shop attack was the work of gangsters.

In the aftermath of the bus attack, Israeli police arrested three men wandering in the area. They were released the same day. Israeli newspapers reported that a number of Jewish residents of the area told police they had seen three people wearing skull-caps leaving the area after the incident.

In Sa'ir, the home village of most of the passengers, Israeli soldiers turned over the body of the dead passenger on Monday night October 29 for a late-night burial. The soldiers reportedly surrounded the village and allowed only a few members of the family to attend the ceremony. Earlier in the day, school was disrupted as the village went on strike to protest the incident.

Demonstrations also took place in Sa'ir, despite the presence of Israeli soldiers on patrol to curb protest activities. Israel Radio reported that an Israeli officer and his wife were wounded when their car was hit by stones thrown by village youths as they passed near Sa'ir. Three cars had their windows broken from stone-throwing.

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Military Closes Bethlehem U. After 3 Days of Demonstrations

Israeli military authorities ordered the closure of Bethlehem University for four days, beginning November 1. The order follows a three-day student demonstration this week in protest of the terrorist attack against the Arab bus October 28.

Dr Anton Sansour, deputy director of the university, was summoned to the Bethlehem area military governorate on Wednesday evening October 31. He was informed verbally of the order. The Israeli military governor told Sansour that classes will not resume until Monday, November 4.

Israeli authorities said that the closure order comes as punishment for the demonstrations and stone-throwing which has taken place over the past week. University students first went on strike and demonstrated October 29 in protest of the rocket attack on a Hebron bus by Jewish extremists in which one Palestinian was killed and 11 others wounded. Students stoned Israeli vehicles passing on the main Bethlehem road near the campus. Students reported that at least 10 cars had windows broken.

Israeli soldiers then besieged the university, firing tear gas and live bullets into the campus injuring one construction worker in the leg.

Israeli authorities continued to provoke students by stationing soldiers on roof tops around the university. Consequently, stone throwing and demonstrations continued at the university during the following two days. Students reportedly used slingshots to hurl stones at soldiers. Youths also kept a Palestinian flag hanging on the wall throughout the siege.

Musa Darwish, public relations director at the university, said the closure order disrupts the academic function of the university. The Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit University called upon students and academicians to join them in condemning the closure of Bethlehem University. Otherwise they will find themselves in the same position as Bethlehem University," said a statement issued by the committee.

In other related stories, Israeli troops continued to patrol Dheisheh refugee camp, near Bethelem. Occasional stone throwing incidents were reported against Israeli traffic. One Israeli was wounded October 30 when his car was stoned by camp youths. Several cars had their windshields broken.

Rabbi Moshe Levinger, a settler leader from Kiryat Arba settlement near Hebron tried to force his way into the camp that

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Disputes Resolved, New Ones Begin in WB University Crisis

Students at Bir Zeit University and the College of Science and Technology returned to classes November 1 after disputes with administrations were resolved. Studies at both the Arab Nursing College and Ibrahimiya College were suspended, however, as administrations of both institutes closed the two down.

Bir Zeit University

At Bir Zeit students and administration accepted a compromise proposal October 31 which was submitted by a committee of employees and faculty. The agreement calls for an end to the student strike and a return to normal campus life. The board of trustees' decision to increase tuition for freshmen will be frozen for one month until a study of student financial conditions is completed.

The negotiated compromise also calls for establishing a special committee with the participation of the student council to study tuition policy before recommending a plan of action to the university trustee board. Any tuition increases will also be given to the student council for use in its financial aid programme.

In addition, acceptance of special cases of new students who have been academically hindered by occupation will be increased from two percent to six percent. Students will also be able to participate in future policy decisions concerning the acceptance of students.

College of Science and Technology

At the Abu Dis College of Science and Technology students agreed to return to classes October 31. Students had been on strike protesting the administration's policy that students achieve an average of 70 percent for graduation and that each student pass an English proficiency exam before being granted a diploma.

Third and fourth-year students at Abu Dis were promised that if they do not reach the needed 70 percent mark the administration will look into their cases on an individual basis.

Arab Nursing College

The most serious dispute between university students and administration is at the Arab Nursing College in al-Bireh. Woman students at the al-Bireh dormitory are refusing to leave the premises despite a board of trustees' decision October 27 to close down the college. The board's decision was taken after efforts by the Council for Higher Education (CHE) to mediate in the dispute failed.

Hassan Qiq, secretary for the CHE, told *Al Fajr* that the council was able to convince the college's trustees to accept three of the seven student demands. According to Qiq the students rejected this compromise offer and demanded that all their demands be met. Student representatives, however, insist that they did accept the compromise but wanted the council to provide an agreement in writing. Qiq, who adamantly insists on his version, says that after the student rejection he informed the college's board who immediately closed down the college. Boarding students, all of whom are women, then refused to leave the dormitories and turned back their parents when they came to take them home.

According to Qiq, the students returned to the CHE Tuesday October 30 and told him that they had decided to accept the compromise. But when Qiq contacted the college board of trustees, the administrators refused to commit themselves to abide by the proposed compromise.

Dr Yasir Obeid, chairman of the board of trustees, told *Al Fajr* that before any agreement is reached with students "the board of trustees decision must be carried out." He said that students must leave the campus and then the board will decide when to reopen the college.

Amin Khatib, who, along with college president Tawfiq Shakhashir and Ibrahim Tawil, was chosen by the board to deal with the students, said no attempt has been made to force the female students out of the dormitory. "They are our daughters and we can solve the problem

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Kufr Qassem Massacre Remembered

Thousands of Kufr Qassem residents, in their village east of Tel Aviv, took part in an annual march commemorating the massacre of 49 village residents by Israeli troops October 29, 1956.

The march began at 8:00 am in the centre of the village and proceeded towards the memorial monument set up in memory of the slain villagers. Leading the procession, a number of village youth carried wreaths and paintings done by a painter from the village representing the massacre.

The village also went on strike and shops remained closed, schools shut and workers stayed home.

At the monument site, a number of speakers, including the local council head, Abed al-Rahim Issa spoke to the crowd recalling the brutal massacre and calling for the prevention of a repetition of such massacres. (Translated: Al Talia, November 1)

Lebanese Resistance Forces Withdrawal Speculation

Israeli and Lebanese military officers are expected to meet November 5 to officially begin negotiations on the withdrawal of Israeli forces from south Lebanon. The negotiations will take place at Ras al-Naqura near the Israeli-Lebanese border and will be carried out under the auspices of the UNIFIL.

The announcement, which was made by United Nations Secretary General Javier Peres de Cuellar in New York October 31, appears to be a victory for Lebanese and Syrian nationals who have been opposed to any American-sponsored negotiations.

The meetings will be run by UNIFIL General William Callahan. Israeli daily *Yediot Aharanot* reported November 1 that Israel will be asking for an increase in UNIFIL forces from 7000 to 10,000. *Yediot Aharanot* also said the agreement came after the Lebanese government dropped a demand to re-establish the armistice military committee.

Last week Israeli papers quoted Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin as saying that Israel wanted "a military agreement with Lebanon and a political agreement with Syria."

During the past two days Lebanese nationals carried out three military operations against Israeli troops in south Lebanon. In the Sidon area an Israeli patrol was attacked October 31 by hand grenades which led to the injury or death of five soldiers.

According to reports of foreign correspondents, Israeli soldiers rushed to the scene and fired arbitrarily at shops, houses and passersby injuring three Lebanese. Israeli soldiers then summoned the villagers and asked them to kneel for two hours as a form of collective punishment.

On October 30 an explosion took place in Abra-Jezzine area as an Israeli jeep passed by. No information about the attack was available.

The third operation took place at the entrance of Nabatiyeh on October 29 when Lebanese fighters attacked an Israeli patrol with machine guns. The attack resulted in the death and injury of a number of Israeli soldiers. No further details were provided.

The village of Ben Afula in south Lebanon continued to be surrounded by Israeli soldiers for the second consecutive day October 31. The village was surrounded after clashes between villagers and occupation forces.

In the Beirut area intra-Lebanese fighting began again as the Lebanese government was beginning to review the political representation of the various sects.

7 Youths Imprisoned

BETHLEHEM — Seven youths from the refugee camps of al-Azeh and Aida in the Bethlehem district were sentenced by the military court in Ramallah October 26 to various prison terms on charges including throwing petrol bombs at Israeli targets and forming a hostile organisation.

The youths are: Mahmoud Zaboun, three years in prison and two years suspended; Samir Nimr al-Azeh, two years in prison plus two years suspended; Ahmed al-Azah, one year in prison plus one year suspended; Aref al-Azeh, one-and-a-half years in prison plus one-and-a-half years suspended; Ayed al-Hamouz, one-and-a-half years in prison plusone-and-a-half years suspended; Amjad Abu Aker, one-and-a-half years in prison plus another one-year-and-a-half suspended; and Fares Melesh, one-and-a-half years in prison plus another one-and-a-half years suspended.

They were all detained three months ago.

Unknown Gunman Shoots Gaza Union Head

An unidentified gunman shot and wounded a Gaza businessman and head of the Gaza Federation of Labour Unions October 25.

Abd al-Rahman Darabey, 65, who is said in Gaza to have close ties to Israeli authorities, was shot in the neck Thursday night as he drove away after visiting a patient in the Gaza hospital. His car overturned after he was shot.

The gunman reportedly used a gun with a silencer. Darabey, who owns an aluminum factory in an Israeli industrial area north of Gaza known as Erez, was taken to hospital where doctors extracted bullet shrapnel from his neck. According to Israeli press reports, he was released from hospital after the operation and remains in satisfactory condition.

Darabey reportedly maintained control of the Gaza Labour Federation through the help of Israeli authorities. Many Gaza unionists have accused him in the past of corruption and hindering union activities.

Israeli military sources linked the assassination attempt to the September 14 assassination of Abd al-Hamid Qishtah, mayor of Rafah. Qishtah was also shot by an unknown assailant.

In Damascus, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt. In a communique the PFLP described Darabey as "an Israeli agent."

Student Blocs Condemn Jordan - Egypt Relations

More than 800 students and representatives of local national institutions took part in a meeting at Bethlehem University October 26 to protest the Jordanian government's resumption of political relations with Egypt.

Classes were disrupted in the morning to allow students to join in the protest of the Jordanian move. Also mentioned in the two-hour meeting was the meeting three weeks ago between some West Bank figures known to be closely related to Jordan and US Secretary of Defence Casper Weinberger, who was on an official visit to Israel.

During the protest meeting, four speakers representing all four student blocs in West Bank universities spoke harshly against the Jordanian move. They described it as an infringement on the PLO's representation of the Palestinian people.

Addressing the crowd in the university's main courtyard, a student from the Student Action Front (SAF) attacked the move as an attempt to bypass the PLO and to impose itself as a representative of the Palestinian people. The speaker said that Jordan and Egypt now represent the cornerstone in US political schemes for the area. He also called for ending "any relationship with Amman or Cairo."

The meeting, called for by the Bethlehem University Student Council, was also addressed by another student representing the Progressive Student Union Bloc (PSUB) who pointed out that the Jordanian government is moving rapidly in accordance with American-sponsored schemes. He said that Jordan had instructed the regime's supporters in the occupied territories to move in the political arena. He cited the meeting between some West Bank figures, including Bethlehem Mayor Elias Freij, and Weinberger as an example. The PSUB representative also called for strict adherence to the Aden/Algiers resolutions and urged their immediate implementation in order to speed up the reunification of the PLO.

The representative of the Student Youth Movement (SYM) agreed with the other speakers in condemning the Jordanian move. He called for the immediate convening of the Palestine National Council in order to reactivate the PLO institutions.

The final speaker, the representative of the Student Unity Bloc, spelled out his group's condemnation of "the Jordanian move and the moves by certain West Bank figures" to undermine the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and to participate in surrenderist plans to liquidate the Palestinian question. He called for convening the 17th PNC session in order to stop any attempt to override the 'Aden/Algiers agreement. He also called for strengthening relations with the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union.

Mayor Freij and a selected grouping of Israeli-appointed mayors from the West Bank met the US secretary of defence at a cocktail party in the American official's honour October 17. Freij denied any political meeting with Weinberger, saying only, "We simply shook hands and returned home."

Palestinian Artists Form Union

Palestinian artists in the occupied territories met at the *El-Hakawati* Theatre in Jerusalem October 26 for the founding conference of the League of Palestine Artists (LPA). They decided to hold elections for the administrative committee November 16.

The cornerstone for the LPA was laid September 7, when 13 artists met and established a preparatory committee to prepare for the founding conference. The committee which consisted of five members resigned at the opening sessionof the conference in order to allow elections of a new committee.

In the past a loose coalition of artists existed, but they did not carry out any activities or even meet.

Fifty-five artists from all over the occupied territories gathered in the theatre hall at 9:30 am for the meeting. The attendants discussed and approved a draft of the bylaws which was prepared by the interim administrative committee. Among other things, the conference set criteria for membership in the LPA. According to Article 1 of the bylaws, an active member is a graduate of a recognised university or community college, and must have held at least one art exhibit. Artists who do not have any academic degree must have held at least one private exhibit and have participated in at least three collective exhibits. The article also allows those with special interest in art to be supporting members. A supporting member would have the right to attend conferences and participate in LPA activities, but could not vote or run for the administrative committee.

At the end of the meeting, the conferees elected a seven-member interim administrative committee in order to choose the artists to receive active membership before holding elections for the administrative committee.

Nabil Anani, a leading Ramallah painter who was elected to the interim administrative committee, told *Al Fajr* that he expects the number of active members to be around 30. He pointed out that a number of people who attended the conference do not meet the criteria set by the conference for active membership.

Anani also described the conference as a "big achievement." "Considering the circumstances which have prevailed since 1980, we truely have managed to carve out a solid framework for a union to care for the development of artists," he said.

Other members of the interim committee include Suleiman Mansour, Kamel Mughani, Issam Badr, Issam Hilees, Fathi Ghabin and Fawzi Anestas.

Israelis Seek to Close E. Jerusalem Money-Changers

The Israeli legal advisor is looking for ways to permanently close down the businesses of East Jerusalem money-changers, according to the Israeli press. The move is intended to stop the blackmarket of foreign currency.

Money-changers, however, insist that the Israelis cannot legally close their offices since they were officially licensed before the Israeli occupation in 1967. The Arab businesses are also now officially licensed by Israeli authorities to deal with Jordanian dinars, the legal tender in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem.

Since the creation of the Labour Party led 'national unity government' in Israel last August, Israeli officials have been making statements about the need to crack down on the Israeli black-market and in particular Arab money changers.

Nabil Feidy, a Jerusalem money changer, told *Al Fajr* that he feels the Israeli statements are merely intended to intimidate. He said similar efforts were carried out in 1976 but failed to produce any changes in the law. "For a year in '76 we were called in by the police, investigated and then released," he said. Feidy added that in the end the police left money changers alone, and the municipality even granted six money changers licenses to continue dealing in Jordanian dinars.

Economic experts note that since the dinar is the legal tender in the occupied territories it would be difficult to close down the money-changers. If, however, an Arab Bank is opened, then it might be possible to close the money changers. Feidy disagrees noting that in Amman there are 50 money-changers in addition to banks and a central government bank.

The problem of East Jerusalem will remain a stumbling block, however, for negotiations towards opening the bank. Israeli officials have in the past refused to allow an Arab bank to be opened in Jerusalem. The bank currently proposed would be in Nablus.

Palestinians Remember Camps November 2

"The Committee to Defend Palestinian Camps (CDPC) issued a statement yesterday (October 30) requesting people to consider the second of November every year a day of solidarity with the Palestinian camps.

"The statement read: 'Our Palestinian people in the West Bank and Gaza are subjected daily to harsh practises by the Israeli occupation army joined with armed settlers bands in a programmed plan to crush our people and strangle them within the framework of expelling them from their homeland.

'Our people in the West Bank and Gaza refugee camps are subjected to the most brutal and barbaric forms of attacks. The occupation authorities allege different wrongful security pretexts to justify their aggression. They close camp entrances with cement. They allow joint army — settlers gangs to patrol the camps. They impose curfews, consequently transforming the camps into concentration camps for the Palestinian people.

'These attacks come as an introduction to the various plans (including the Ben Porat plan) to liquidate our people's cause and their existence on their national soil, because these camps are a clear and obvious proof of expulsion and oppression.

'This year, the anniversary of the Balfour declaration — which gave the right to the Jews of the world to establish a national homeland in Palestine and led to the expulsion of Palestinian people from their homeland to live as refugees for more than 36 years and deprived them of the natural right to establish their independent state on their national soil — comes as a reminder of the tyranny, oppression and conspiracy against our people in order to wipe them out.

'Based on our care for the cause and in order to continue the struggle against such painful reality, the CDPC calls on all sectors of our people to commemorate this day in solidarity with our people in camps wherever they are.'" (Translation: Al Ittihad, October 31, 1984)

Indira Ghandi

Palestinians in the occupied territories mourned with great sorrow the death of India's Prime Minister Indira Ghandi. Ghandi who was assassinated by members of her own security staff was seen here as a leading international figure who staunchly supported the Palestinian cause.

All the local press gave the story of her assassination front-page coverage with photos of Ghandi and background on her life and the life of her son who succeeded her.

Crowds gather on Salah al-Din Street after the stabbing.

Wood Merchant Stabbed to Death in Jerusalem

A Jerusalem wood dealer and father of five was stabbed to death in East Jerusalem October 29. The murder occurred in front of the assailant's appliance store.

Walid al-Ghazali, 26, was stabbed in the heart by Samir Said Sarhan, 24. Both men's families live in the Jerusalem suburb of Silwan.

According to reports from the victim's family, al-Ghazali damaged an appliance belonging to the Sarhan family a few days before the incident while parking his car in Silwan. A fight ensued between members of the Sarhan family and al-Ghazali but reconciliation was reached after al-Ghazali agreed to pay for repairing the damaged appliance.

Monday morning after parking his car on Salah al-Din Street in Jerusalem, al-Ghazali was attacked by Sarhan. According to eyewitness reports, Sarhan, who reportedly suffers from emotional problems, emerged from his family's store, fought with al-Ghazali and stabbed him repeatedly. Al-Ghazali was taken to Hadassah Hospital, where he was pronounced dead on arrival. Sarhan was arrested at the scene and remains in police custody.

Attempts to reconcile the dispute between the two families are currently being made.

3000 Jerusalemites Condemn Racism at Cinema Demonstration

Arab and Jewish anti-racists vowed to show up wherever racist MK Meir Kahane is speaking and shout him down. The latest in a series of such incidents was in West Jerusalem October 27. Some 3000 Jerusalemites heckled Kahane outside the Ron Cinema in a counter protest against a demonstration by Kahane and his followers.

Kahane and 50 of his supporters asked permission to demonstrate outside the movie house in protest of the current showing of the film *Behind the Walls*. The Israeli film describes conditions in Israeli prisons and focuses on Arab-Jewish cooperation inside the jail.

The anti-Kahane demonstrators received permission to counter the MK's protest speech only through the personal intervention of MK Yossi Sarid with Police Minister Haim Bar-Lev.

At the demonstration anti-racists from a variety of political factions shouted "Racism destroys democracy," and "Kahane is a stain on the state of Israel."

Raya Rotem, a member of the Jerusalem branch of Citizens Against Racism, said that the demonstration was unique in that it included many Israeli youth, a group who have been described in the media recently as largely undemocratic. She said that youth from the Mapam movement and Israeli boy scouts were present in large numbers. They booed, said Rotem, everytime Kahane attempted to speak.

The Jerusalem Post reported that Kahane was greeted upon arrival by a tomato in the face. Large numbers of mounted policemen and foot patrol were used to separate the two groups.

After calling demonstrators "Arab dogs and Jewish traitors." Kahane left by a side road.

Earlier more than a hundred Arabs and Jews crammed into a private home October 24 in Abu Ghosh village, a suburb of Jerusalem for the weekly session of Citizens Against Racism. The group, which formed in response to Rabbi Meir Kahane's election to the Knesset, includes both Israeli Jews and Arabs.

The meeting was also attended by Arab villagers and *mukhtars* from Ain Rafah and Beit Naqoba. The two villages, along with Abu Ghosh, were captured in 1948 by the Israeli army and are thus now inside the 'green line.'

Activists from the Mapam, Ratz, Rakah, Progressive List for Peace and Matzpen were present. A leading member of Herut Party, Moshe Amirav, also attended the meeting which turned into a popular stand against racism.

Rotem told *Al Fajr* that the meeting place was so crowded it was impossible to be properly introduced. She said that the atmosphere was good, however, and a number of decisions were taken. Plans for the October 27 demonstration were also discussed.

Rotem said the Citizens Against Racism open secretariat have also decided to carry out a teaching campaign aimed at Israeli schools. She said that heads of Jerusalem's elementary schools have agreed to dedicate their next meeting early in November to the topic of racism. A number of professors and activists are planning to speak to the school headmasters.

Plans are also being made to approach secondary school teachers. Rotem says that the group hopes to hold lectures for school teachers who in turn will be asked to educate their students about the growing threat of racism.

IFJ Moves Meeting From Jerusalem to Tel Aviv

As a result of pressure from Arab journalists, the International Federation of Journalists' agreed October 26 to move the location of their next bureau meeting from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv.

The Belgium-based federation's meeting on November 12 in Tel Aviv will be boycotted, however, by the Tunisian and Dutch members. Tunis is the only Arab country which has membership in the IFJ.

Roman Friester, the Israeli representative to the IFJ, told *Al Fajr* that the decision came after consultation between the president of the IFJ, Ken Ashton, and Arab and Israeli journalists. Friester said the Israeli Journalists' Association has accepted the change of meeting place. Two representatives of the Arab Journalists' Association met with Hans Larsen and Mia Doornaert in August and conveyed their opposition to having the meeting in Jerusalem.

Friester said he is "very sorry" that the Tunisian representative Emma Seola will not be coming. He said her absence will be felt considering that the IFJ bureau is expected to discuss the problems facing the Palestinian press in the occupied territories. There are no Palestinian members in the IFJ.

The IFJ is expected to hear in their coming meeting a report by an IFJ fact-finding mission here in August to study the "harassment and oppression of journalists in the occupied territories."

The decision to have the IFJ's meeting in Jerusalem was originally made in Edinborough during their June 4-8 meeting. The decision was condemned by Arab Journalists' Associations as well as by the West Bank and Gazan Arab Journalists' Association.

Howe Meets Press in Final Day of Tour

British Secretary of State Sir Geoffrey Howe spoke in a press conference at King David Hotel in Jerusalem October 30 about his government's commitment to Palestinians' right to self determination and to Israel's right to exist.

Howe described his visit as timely, especially after the Israeli parliamentary elections and recent changes in the Arab world such as the reestablishment of relations between Jordan and Egypt. He also stressed the importance of continuing the 600 million sterling pound per year trade exchange between Israel and Britain.

The British secretary of state showed concern over the high cost of the continued dispute between Israel and its neighbours. He told reporters it is possible to solve all differences with patient confidential diplomacy. However Howe affirmed that the issue of south Lebanon must be solved before a solution to other problems in the area can be reached. Answering questions put forth by reporters the British secretary defended British arms sales to Arab countries. He said the sales were only to moderate Arabs and in no way would harm the balance of forces in the area, which is currently in favour of Israel. Howe also explained that his meeting with local Palestinians centered on economic aid for the occupied territories from the European Economic Community and other sources.

Earlier in the day Howe met at the East Jerusalem British Consulate with Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem; Rashad Shawwa, deposed mayor of Gaza; Ibrahim Tawil, deposed mayor of al-Bireh; Gabi Baramki, vice president of Bir Zeit University and Hikmat al-Masri, chairman of the board of Najah University.

Tawil told *Al Fajr* that the meeting provided an opportunity to speak about the problems facing Palestinians living under Israeli occupation. Tawil said he and the other invitees encouraged Britain to play a greater role in resolving the Palestinian issue. When asked by the British minister who should represent Palestinians in any future negotiations, the answer from the Palestinians was unanimously in favour of the PLO.

Mayor Freij told *Al Fajr* that he asked the British minister for financial support for the occupied territories from the EEC. Freij told Howe that "With the annual projected inflation rate of 1000 percent, our people in the occupied territories are the first to suffer economically." Freij told the British minister that the average Palestinian makes 40 percent less than his Israeli counterpart. "The EEC gives financial support to many countries, so why not to us," he told *Al Fajr*.

Commenting on Howe's views vis-a-vis the occupied territories, Tawil and Freij called it "positive." "But we need action and not talk," said Freij. Tawil told *Al Fajr* he hopes western Europe will pressure the United States into dealing with the Palestinian issue evenhandedly.

Soldiers trap students on Bethlehem University campus on October 29.

Bethlehem U.

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day brandishing a hand gun. Camp residents chased him out with stones. Israeli troops interfered and placed the camp under curfew.

Levinger and a number of his followers demonstrated in front of the camp on the main road October 31. Camp residents reported that Levinger and his followers tried to force their way into the camp but could not do so.

Elsewhere in the West Bank, youths from Jalazon refugee camp north of Ramallah stoned Israeli traffic passing on the main road to Nablus, near the camp.

In Ramallah, an unknown person hurled a molotov cocktail at the car of the Ramallah area military governor, Ram Casbi, as he drove on the main al-Bireh-Ramallah highway on his way to Jerusalem. Israel Radio which reported the incident said that no damage was done.

Yeshiva **Settlement Foundation Laid in Halhoul**

The establishment of another settler colony on land in Halhoul was announced by Israeli authorities October 30. Ownership of the confiscated land where the settlement is to be built is currently being disputed in court.

The settlement, which is to be called Karni Tzor, is said to be built for *yeshiva* students and Orthodox Jews. According to Israeli press reports, the foundation for the settlement has already been laid and 30 families are expected to take up residency there in the immediate future.

The land, which was confiscated on February 24, belongs to 24 Palestinian families from Halhoul. It was confiscated on the pretext that it is "state land." Landowners acting through their lawyers objected to the land grab. Lawyer Ahmad Nazzal, from Felicia Langer's office, applied to the Military Objections Committee June 10 where he presented land deeds for the owners dating back to Ottoman rule.

The case is still pending in the objections committee. The court has asked for an official translation of the land documents, which were originally written in Turkish.

Al Fajr Arabic Editor Resigns

Al Fajr Arabic daily's editor-in-chief, Bishara Bahbah, resigned his newspaper post October 31 to return to the United States.

Bahbah, who held the *Al Fajr* post for one year, will join the faculty of Brigham Young University in Utah where he will teach international relations. Bahbah holds a doctoral degree in international relations from Harvard University in Massachusetts.

Al Fajr staff wish Bishara all the best in his new career.

The Dawn
AL FAJR
AL FAJR — Jerusalem Palestinian Weekly

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A Strange Phenomenon

Together with the crime against the Arab bus this week in which one Arab was killed and ten others wounded, there appeared in the Israeli media a new suspicious phenomenon. It focuses on the supposed existence of new armed Palestinian cells in the West Bank and Gaza.

Any observer can easily connect the highlighting of this new information, and the labelling of the new Jewish Terror organisation that attacked the Arab bus as "Avengers." According to Israeli investigators, this same organisation is responsible for throwing a bomb at an Arab cafe in the Old City of Jerusalem a month ago.

The Israeli media is trying now to balance the new Arab armed cells with the Jewish terror organisations operating against the Arabs.

There is an Israeli information wave, in general, trying to justify the crimes against the Arabs by the extremist Jewish groups. It is even trying to justify further crimes in the future. It is a strange justification based on the assumption that "as long as there are Arab extremists, there will also be Jewish extremists. And as long as there are Jewish victims there will also be Arab victims."

It is natural that this justification is baseless according to any logic. It does not conform to any law. We live under occupation, so there is no way for comparison. In view of this, we have the right to ask for legal protection in accordance with international law against the murder of innocent people and against all forms of retaliation.

Those Jewish extremist groups, however extreme they might be, cannot be separated from the state embodied in them. So, it is the responsibility of this state and its laws to protect civilians. Isn't Meir Kahane, for example, who hailed the attack on the Arab bus and who still practices racist acts, a member of the Israeli Knesset, the highest legislative authority in Israel? How then can there be such a "justification?"

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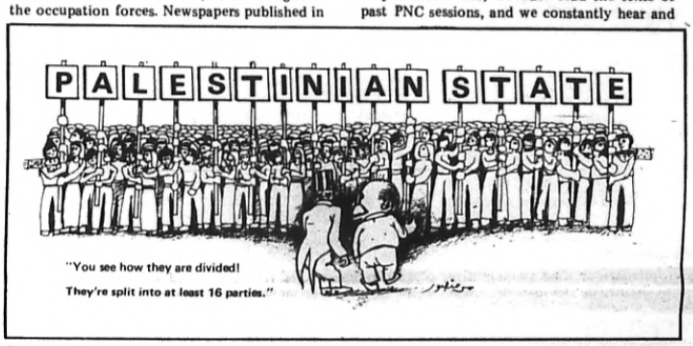
AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PNC

Self-Criticism: Road to Palestinian Unity

by Daoud Kuttab

It has been a long and difficult period since you last met for the 16th PNC session. The past 18 months have witnessed the spilling of precious Palestinian blood as well as a general decline in the morale of the Palestinian people, both here in the occupied territories and in the diaspora. The Palestinian cause has been set back considerably both in the Arab and international arenas as a result of inter-Palestinian fighting. We in the occupied territories cannot evade responsibility for helping to foster this internal Palestinian battle.

The differences among the Palestinian factions were reflected and even exaggerated here. The Israeli occupiers were naturally pleased as the differences grew and were aired in public. Major cities in the West Bank and Gaza woke up one day to find name-calling graffiti, most of which is still in evidence, to the delight of the occupation forces. Newspapers published in Jerusalem ran unrestrained hate campaigns, and our universities were sites for violent clashes as the battles of the Beqa'a and Tripoli were mirrored on the local scene. Even our brethren inside the '48 lines were caught up in the internal struggles. Supporters of Rakah and those of the Progressive List of Peace fought a painful and obnoxious election campaign against each other for the Israeli Knesset.



The struggle here between nationalists was more intense than that against the occupation. It was easier for zealots in one camp to find fault with the other than to find areas of agreement. Excited youths were led to believe that they were acually doing something for the Palestinian cause when they attacked a certain leader or a specific ideology. The name-calling battle left scarcely any Palestinian untouched. Street graffiti, newspaper articles or secret flyers found a sobriquet for everyone: pro-Jordan, pro-Egypt, pro-Syrian, traitor, surrenderist, unrealistic, rightist, leftist, Sadatist, Ba'thist and many more.

The result of these insults was anger, frustration and, most dangerously, disillusionment. Once the sacred ice of internal fighting was broken, there was no letting up. The wounds went so deep and the disease was so contagious that the reconciliation meetings and agreements between PLO factional leaders in Aden and Algiers were not automatically supported. The outward and sometime violent differences between members of the various factions in the diaspora also affected Arab and international circles. The African continent, traditionally a staunch supporter of the Palestinian cause, showed signs of wavering, with African states making secret, and sometimes open, overtures to Israel. Western Europe, which had been expected to play an important role in the international field, clearly began backing away from the stand it had taken in the Venice Declaration.

The negative effects of a fragmented Palestinian arena are obvious. Yet I am not appealing for a complete disregard of different shades of opinion. Never. Differences, if kept within their proper context, are a real sign of democracy. Self-criticism is indispensible to us in these difficult times. What we have been witnessing, however, is an exploitation of Palestinian democracy on the one hand, and the stifling of new opinions on the other, neither of which is healthy or constructive. Although it is difficult, we must agree on a common strategy that is acceptable to all. This common denominator must be attainable and we must leave the door open for new and creative ideas.

One field in which I believe all can agree to work together is the occupied territories. This geographic area, where the largest single grouping of Palestinians live, has never been placed on the top of the PLO's list of priorities. After all that has happened in Amman, Tel al-Za'atar and Beirut, the occupied territories have still not received the concerted attention they deserve. Yes, we have read the texts of past PNC sessions, and we constantly hear and read about "the heroism of our people in the occupied territories," but have yet to see effective, consistent and bipartisan attention paid to our home turf.

I am not trying to say that no attention has been given to the occupied territories, nor that all the blame is yours; we here share it. But I have to say that the kind of attention given to us by the people you appointed has, at times, been used to widen the gap instead of narrowing it. You have supported factional newspapers, factional unions, student bodies, clubs, institutions and individuals. All were rewarded for their factionalism and were encouraged to continue. When have you given serious attention to creative artists, or popular writers? When have you supported the making of documentary or fiction films, or provided funds for building a much needed factory or for establishing a healthy economic structure that would benefit us all? You have only encouraged our natural tendency to take the easy way out. It is much easier to fight each other and destroy each other's reputations than to fight the occupation. You made it easier for us by demanding our factional loyalty, rather than by challenging us to offer more effective resistance through unity.

The attention we want doesn't necessarily mean monetary funding. We need programmes aimed at giving encouragement, guidance and training. Special bodies must be established to recognise and encourage excellence, creativity and productivity. When is the last time a scientist was honoured, or a mathematician, a musician, an agricultural advisor, or a lawyer, a labourer, a trade unionist, simply for excelling at the work they have done? When have individuals been recognised and honoured for what they have done regardless of which faction they belong to? We must work together by investing in the individual as well as in the

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AL FAJR invites our readers to contribute letters, articles and opinions. Contributions must be signed, but names may be withheld upon request.

Jordanian Options

by Afif Safieh

The "Jordanian option" has always been a divisive and controversial issue in the Arab world. To contribute political debate on the options and alternatives available one has to bear in mind that there is not one but *six* different incompatible and competing "Jordanian options." If only one of them is desirable, all six are nevertheless discussed as plausible possibilities for the future. Each is a challenge on its own, and so far adequate responses have not been elaborated.

These are the three different Israeli-'Jordanian options':

1. In several circles within the Israeli right, many still believe that the Jordan river is not the ultimate frontier of *Eretz* Israel. They consider Transjordan an integral part of the 'promised land.' Future expansion in that direction is considered legitimate. Only favourable circumstances in the future are needed to render such a goal possible.

2. In the same sector of the Israeli political spectrum, General Sharon, who in spite or because of all the irrefutable accusations made against him has lost none of his political influence, has often openly stated that the solution to the Palestinian problem lies beyond the Jordan river. For him, "only the Hashemite family are foreigners in Jordan." Jordan is Palestine. (See *Jordan is not Palestine* by Mohammed Hallaj and Sheila Ryon, and published by the American Arab University Graduates (AAUG).) Jordan should be 'given' to the Palestinians. And those 'still' in areas under Israeli control will have a state of 'their' own and will be 'encouraged' to settle there across the Jordan river.

3. A third Israeli scenario, abundantly studied within the Labour Party, is the 'territorial compromise' with the Jordanian monarchy. A wide variety of formulas exist for the return of densely populated areas of the West Bank to Jordan so as to avoid 'the demographic threat' to the ethnic purity of the Jewish state. The retention of more than 50 percent of its lands, however, is compensated for by the 'donation' of parts of the Gaza Strip to Jordan.

Besides these three Israeli-'Jordanian options,' there are two Jordanian 'Jordanian options':

4. In certain influential circles in Amman, some think that Jordan would be better off if it were discharged of its 'Palestinian burden.' Jordan in its reduced post of 1967 borders has proved to be a viable economic entity. They propose the "Jordanisation of Jordan" in all respects — the political sphere and all others too. Citizens of Palestinian origin, more than a million living in Jordan, will be offered the alternative of allegiance either to the PLO or to the Jordanian government and each would bear the implications of his choice.

5. Another political trend promotes the idea of a 'United Arab Kingdom' where a Palestinian 'entity' would enjoy a certain degree of administrative and political autonomy.

An Equal Partnership

A sixth 'Jordanian option' emanates from the PLO:

6. Initiated by Yasir Arafat in the end of 1982, this 'option' was endorsed by the Palestine National Council in February 1983. This plan calls for a future confederation between Palestine and Jordan. This would be equal partnership between two sovereign entities, emanating from their "free and voluntary volition" as reflected by their respective political institutions. Such a formula is seen as eventually advantageous on all levels. It will be if the whole issue is handled correctly.

Observers expect the diplomatic front to be reactivated after the American presidential elections whose outcome is surely known. Still much has to be done to 'convince' the Israelis that the time has come to start repairing the incredible damage inflicted upon Palestinian society by occupation. The time has come to persuade the American administration that self-determination, national independence and sovereign statehood in the West Bank (including East Jerusalem) and Gaza is the least that can be proposed to the Palestinian people if an "acceptable and lasting peace" is to be acheived in the area. ("Acceptable peace" is a more adequate term than "just peace.")

But now, more than ever before, a clear Jordanian policy statement is needed to prove to all concerned that Jordan does not intend to take advantage of the converging efforts of Israel and Syria against the PLO. We need a statement that would clarify Jordanian intentions; would leave no room for the usual multiple and contridictory interpretations; would tranquilise Palestinian fears and overcome Palestinian reluctance; would show that Jordan's vision of the future coincides with the Palestinian vision of the future; and would dispel any expectations some Jordanians may have for a deal that ignores Palestinian fundamental rights.

Just as the Palestinians were unreceptive to the political baits of "Transjordan as a substitute to Palestine" formula, we legitimately expect today that Jordan will reject the baits that are intended to trap it and us in formulas that contradict our rights for an equal partnership in the future.

Such a policy statement would help leaders and citizens alike to view the future in an atmosphere of mutual confidence and clarity instead of the prevailing mutual suspicion and ambiguity.

"THE JEWS HAVE BEEN COMMANDED TO BE HOLY, NOT MORAL."

Religious Right Wing Practice Messianic Politics

Abridged by Michael Jackson

In March 1984, the late Professor Uriel Tal delivered a lecture on the foundations of messianic politics at a seminar on "Ethnicity, Nationalism and Racism" held at Tel Aviv University. Tal, a noted scholar, sought to outline the religious, ideological and psychological factors which form the basis of the mindset of the members of Gush Emunim and similar religiously inspired movements.

Tal began his lecture by pointing out that for those who adhere to the view promulgated by Gush Emunim, "the Zionist enterprise as a whole and the victory of the June 1967 war in particular mark the inception of a transcendental political reality. Hence, the military conquests of the 1967 war are interpreted as metaphysical permutations of the concrete physical reality of Israel."

Tal quoted Rabbi Shmeriyahu Arieli to the effect that after 1967, the "sanctity of the Land of Israel" did not only encompass biblical Israel but also the territories conquered in the war: i.e., the Sinai desert, Sharm al-Sheikh and the eastern bank of the Suez canal. For those who interpret reality in this fashion, said Tal, the Jewish people are in the midst of a messianic epoch in the course of which the Land of Israel is to be liberated not only from its political enemies but also from evil per se. As such, the realisation of this belief involves divine sanction and cabalistic doctrines (*cabala* is a system of Jewish theosophy) which view the relinquishment of any part of the land of Israel as a treacherous sin.

Tal notes that this is the view adopted by *Nekuda*, the official organ of the settlement movement in the occupied territories. He cites the reaction of its editors to the Lebanese war in order to corroborate his statement; for them, the war was a "holy war," sanctioned by divine command, and the deployment of Israeli troops in Lebanon was the fulfillment of the biblical promise in Deuteronomy that "every place whereon the sole of your foot shall tread shall be yours: from the wilderness, and Lebanon, from the river, the river Euphrates, even unto the hinder sea shall be your border."

Views such as these are common among those who believe they are living through an era which is now in the process of redemption. Here Tal distinguished between two interpretations of the messianic process. For the first, the messianic process is synonymous with the ending of the Jewish diaspora; however, the messianic era in which "the lion shall dwell with the lamb" and "they shall beat their swords into plowshares" is relegated to the world to come, as this world must still undergo transformations of cosmic dimensions to reach that stage.

The second interpretation, which has been gaining ground among Gush Emunim followers, views the cosmic changes scheduled for the messianic era as being fulfilled now in *this* world. The three basic assumptions underlying this view are: one, that the prophecies which forecast cosmic changes are relevant to *this* world and are taking place here and now; two, that the cosmic changes alluded to in biblical prophecies regarding the messianic era are tied up to the aims of Zionism; and three, that the world to come is beyond our understanding but it is possible to witness the fulfillment of this biblical prophecy in the here and now.

> "The fundamental ideas of the Western enlightenment - liberty and equality - are alien concepts for them."

According to Tal, the second view is currently very popular with Gush Emunim believers. The return of the Jews to the Land of Israel, their habitation in and cultivation of the country, the accomplishments of the secular Jews (which, according to a leading rabbi, are unconsciously hastening the coming of the messiah), the Zionist aims and Israel's military victories are all seen as part of the cosmic dimension of the messianic process. The leading spokesperson for this view was Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook, who had a profound influence on the leaders of Gush Emunim. According to him, the state of Israel was actually the Kingdom of Israel, synonymous with the Kingdom of Heaven on earth.

Tal quotes the writings of Rabbi Yehuda Amital — a leading figure in the settlement movement — to further explain the world view of Gush Emunim. Reacting to the 1973 war, Amital wrote: "One should not view this war in the manner which characterised the reaction of the Jews to the hardships that befell them in the diaspora. We must rise to the occasion and see it in its full biblical dimensions, for only thus can we partake of the light... of messianic redemption. This war broke out against the backdrop of the establishment of the Kingdom of Israel and the impurity of the West. The Gentiles fought in order to survive as Gentiles, that is to say as impure people. Evil battled for its existence, knowing that in God's war

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Despite their stated cooperation in a national 'unity' government, the Labour Party and Likud are presently at loggerheads over policy in the occupied territories. *HaAretz* reporter **Yehuda Litani** looks at this conflict in light of recent statements by Likud minister Ariel Sharon. The verdict: the Likud is winning.

Sharon Leads Likud in Overshadowing Labour Policy for WB, Gaza

If one of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's cabinet ministers would have been invited to the conference held last week by Britain's striking coal miners and delivered an impassioned speech in support of the strike and the tactics employed by the pickets, he would have found himself out of the government the next day. But Israeli democracy operates differently. In the course of a single week, the Minister of Industry and Trade, Ariel Sharon, twice expressed views which totally contradict those of the prime minister. But not only was Sharon not deprived of his post, as he surely would have been if he was a British minister, his statements bolstered his position in his party and forced his political rivals to silently acquiesce to his remarks.

During the second round of celebrations held in Hebron on the eve of Simchat Tora (the Rejoicing of the Law), Ariel Sharon appeared as a representative of the government at a rally organised in support of the Jewish terrorist underground detainees by Leh'or (For My Brothers and Allies — operated for the most part by supporters of Rabbi Moshe Levinger). Sharon, who was hoisted onto his well-wishers' shoulders, expressed his hope that next year similar festivities would take place in Nablus. Speaking on the radio October 20, the minister of industry and trade attacked the intentions of Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin to improve the conditions of the residents of the occupied territories. (He also criticised the government's policies in respect to the economy and Lebanon).

The man who held the defence portfolio two years ago has not deviated from the course he has pursued for the past decade. When he first began his ministerial career, in Begin's first government, he took the settlements under his wing, although he was the minister of agriculture. Since then, the settlements have been his hobby-horse; he did not leave the saddle until he was forced to resign in 1982. Now that he has been appointed minister of industry and trade, he has shown no inclination to abandon his "crowning achievements:" the settlements and his policy for the occupied territories. Hence, it is not all that surprising that it was precisely Sharon, rather than any of the other Herut ministers, who launched the attack against the Labour Party leaders' intentions to alter government policy in the occupied territories.

> "Their sights are fixed on the densely populated areas on the West Bank- namely, the cities of Hebron and Nablus."

The Labour Alignment is opposed to the establishment of settlements in densely populated areas. Nablus, the largest city on the West Bank, is obviously a densely populated area. Moreover, Nablus was chosen as the launching pad for the reforms to be initiated in the territories. But no sooner had Peres and Rabin sent out their first feelers, than Sharon pounced. With the exception of easing restrictions on the inflow of funds from the Arab countries, the plans for the improvement of conditions in the occupied territories are still being worked out. An Arab Bank has not yet been set up in Nablus and the projected industrial plants are still on the drawing board.

And yet, enough had been done to elicit a response from the *enfant terrible* of the Likud. His message was clear: "Dear gentlemen of the Labour Alignment, even if you really do not intend to carry out your plans, and even if they are solely for American consumption, you ought to realise that you will not be given a free hand because your Likud partners oppose your policy regarding the occupied territories."

When the Labour Party criticised Menachem Begin's inability to control his government and, especially the devious machinations of Ariel Sharon, they never imagined that a day would come when Sharon would be sitting in a government with them. But that day has arrived. Ariel Sharon now holds a top economic portfolio in the government and is also a member of the inner cabinet.

In light of Sharon's disparagements of government policy, it seems that at present it is not so much a question of the polarisation of the two major political blocs, as it is their assumption of two different positions. Sharon has left no room for doubt as to where he stands, but the position of the Labour Party leaders seems to be shifting back and forth, from one centrist stand to another; they oppose an independent Palestinian state but would like to establish a more liberal policy in the occupied territories; they rule out negotiations with the PLO, but are prepared to talk to Jordan; they do not oppose settlements, provided they are not located in certain areas.

It appears that the Labour Party leaders are not sure themselves which policy they want to pursue in the occupied territories in light of the Jordanian rebuff to their proposals. For the meantime, they seem content to preserve the status quo, making a few cosmetic changes here and there for appearances sake. But Sharon and those who support him know exactly what they want and cosmetic changes do not figure in their plans. If they cannot annex the occupied territories legally, they will settle for de facto annexation. Their allegiance is to the 'Greater Land of Israel,' which they want to promote by continuing to establish settlements at every possible site in the territories, and right now their sights are fixed on the densely populated areas on the West Bank — namely, the cities of Hebron and Nablus.

Given a situation in which one side is adamant and the other side — lacking a real plan — makes do with adopting a defensive posture, the former (which in this case is led by an experienced general) will most likely push forward by adopting the tactics of Mapai (Israeli Workers' Party — forerunner of the present Labour Party): "one dunum at a time" Seven years ago, Rabin and Peres — whose roles at the time were reversed — faced with an onslaught led by Gush Emunim, Sharon and Begin, agreed to the establishment of a new settlement inside the Kedum Army Base and the integration of the settlers into the defence apparatus.

Kedum was the watershed of the settlement drive. The Labour Alignment's capitulation brought scores of Gush Emunim settlements in its wake; once the restriction on settling in densely populated areas had been lifted, the northern section of the West Bank was thrown open to the settlement movement. Now, the Labour Alignment is once again being challenged by an array of forces that differs little from the Kedum constellation. If they do not launch a counter-offensive, the course of events which followed their capitulation to the Kedum settlers will repeat itself. Doubtless, Sharon will continue to appear at the settlers' rallies in his capacity as a government minister, tacitly lending his support to the terrorist underground. Likewise, he will continue to call for the expansion of Jewish settlement in Hebron and for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in Nablus.

> "If (Labour does) not launch a counter-offensive, the course of events which followed their capitulation to the Kedum settlers will repeat itself."

Ariel Sharon, former agriculture minister, touring a West Bank settlement accompanied by a 'Greater Israel' banner: *"Kedum was the watershed of the settlement drive. The Labour Alignment's capitulation brought scores of Gush Emunim settlements in its wake."*

The scenario already exists. In spite of economic difficulties and complex international problems, Sharon and Gush Emunim will continue to campaign on behalf of the completion of the annexation process. The first stage will involve putting a spoke in the government's wheel, in spite of the fact that their representatives are sitting in the cabinet. At a later stage, they will actively support the creation of "new facts" in the territories.

The demand that the Labour Party take a clear stand need not necessarily mean agreement to the establishment of a Palestinian state led by the PLO; they could effectively prohibit the settlement of Hebron and Nablus without straying from their party platform. Likewise, in lieu of a negotiating partner, the scope of the defence ministry's present plan for the occupied territories could be amplified in order to give the residents more breathing space and the opportunity for greater autonomy within the existing framework of the military administration.

Jeseph's Tomb in Nablus will continue to draw settlers who wish to establish a Jewish presence there. Until now, yeshiva pupils have been prohibited from spending the night in Nablus (save for a few guards). The next stage in their campaign against the Labour Party will surely focus on the demand that they be allowed to spend the night in town. If they are granted that right it will not be long before they produce a few shady land deeds, granting them ownership of a dunum or two in the middle of the city. And once they have squatted in the "heart of the country" they will refuse to budge. The rest of the scenario is well known.

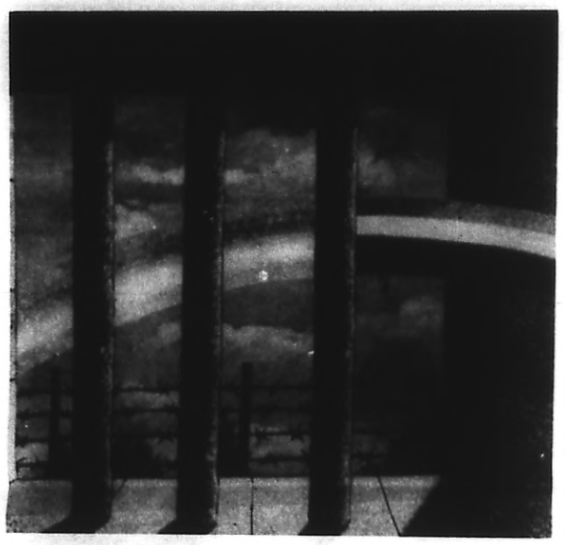
For Ariel Sharon and Gush Emunim, the question of whether or not the Herut Party remains in the government (or breaks away, following Aryeh Dulzin's suggestion, thereby ending their alliance with the Liberal Party) will not have much of an effect on their campaign for the establishment of Jewish settlements in the large Arab population centres on the West Bank, i.e. Hebron and Nablus. They will continue, one way or another.

Although the present government has yet to complete its period of grace, it is already quite apparent that they will not meet with any great success on either the political or the ecnomic front in the immediate future. The leaders of the Labour Alignment went into the government resolved to change government policy regarding the occupied territories. It will take more than good intentions and government announcements to stem Sharon's campaign. But if they fail to act, and to act in a concrete manner, it seems reasonable to assume that the Kedum epside will repeat itself, albeit, in an updated version. (Translation: HaAretz, October 24, 1984)

Palestine and Culture

Palestinian Art Challenges Israeli Occupation

by Baher Ashhab



Hope — by Suleiman Mansour

Art in the occupied territories has come a long way since the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967. The prolonged Israeli presence, to the already harsh reality inherited from previous colonisation, appears to have sparked a powerful movement of art to It is a movement that is distinctly Palestinian in technique and almost violently expressive.

The art movement began to take shape in the early '70s when a group of young Palestinian artists attempted to establish a Palestinian artists guild. Their attempt was doomed to failure, and, while their influence and artistic power have not died, these artists are faced with a multitude of obstacles which threaten their movement with extinction while barely out of the crib.

History

Prior to the 1967 war, a war which wounded the very conscience of the Palestinian people and caused its radical awakening, art here was mostly decorative and commercially oriented. It was generally limited to popular, religious and monarchical subject matters. Other art was folklore in nature, but it was the revolutionary feeling stirred after occupation that elevated such folkloric techinique to the level of art, in the public conscience.

Glass shops in Hebron were producing elegant hand-crafted vases and light fixtures of blue or pink. Village women were embroidering coloured roses and carnations or scenes of Palestinian landscape and religious monuments. These artifacts were popular and could be found in most Palestinian homes.

Olive wood carving quickly became a central figure in Palestine art, particularly for its attraction for tourists. Bethelehm has long been considered the centre of olive wood sculpture. Carvers in this West Bank city supply most of the tourist shops in East Jerusalem and the West Bank.

Calligraphers in the Old City of Jerusalem were busy at reproducing verses of the Quran in seven different forms and styles. The phrase There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is His Prophet were magically drawn in black or red. Surrounding the embellished phrase were Persian or Andulusian decorative forms. These pieces could be found in most Muslim homes and workplaces, their presence being thought to bring God's blessing and propitiation on the household.

The royal family of King Hussein of Jordan were active patrons of local art. Their patronage, however, was limited to portraits of the King and Jordanian and army officials, and to pastoral scenes pro-claiming the king's achievements in the Palestinian territories. Thus local art was used as a tool for Jordanian propaganda.

Art was not at any time seriously taught in public schools and there existed no distinct art movement — political or otherwise.

The early '70s witnessed a number of tragic events, however, that increased the Palestinian sense of persecution and alienation they acquired after the inept defeat of Arab armies in 1967.

There were the inhuman massacres of thousands of Palestinian civilians in Jordan perpetrated by Hussein's forces in 1971, resulting in the dispossession and division of the Palestinian leadership and freedom fighters. This was followed by the establishment of such groups as Black September which resorted to international violence in an attempt to draw world attention to the plight of the Palestinian masses. In the process they radicalised the Palestinian image among world communities, and in a sense, at home.

These tragic events caused the Palestinians to begin re-evaluating their self-worth and re-establishing a distinct Palestinian identity apart from that of their Arab neighbours who they felt, had shamelessly betrayed their cause.

A powerful art movement sprang out of the rubble and the violence, as several young Palestinians scattered in all directions eagerly acquired education in different cultures, and came back home to express their dismay and frustration at the colonisation of their land by foreign elements.

The Art of

The artist in any given society functions as a creator of visual beauty, joy, intrigue and wonder. An artist is responsible for creating, communicating and expressing awareness on a unique level of reality through art.

Today, the artist popularly assumes every conceivable role: the artist as sociologist (pop art); as psychologist (abstract expressionism, surrealism) as mystic and philosopher (futurism, dadism); and as revolutionary warrior utilising whatever artistic style is most appropriate. The creation is often an assimilation of all the artist's experiences, both of the external and internal environment.

Palestinian artists, in particular, having been brought up in an environment of oppression, violence and war became a part of the process of rebellion against these conditions. Their function was to originatively prefigure and give plastic precision to the emotions and aspirations of the Palestinian masses, which would otherwise remain repressed and voiceless.

Thus, the art movement was born after decades of oppression and disillusion. The year 1973, which saw the fourth Arab-Israeli war and the PLO's major political victory as its leader Yasir Arafat stood before the UN General Assembly, was chosen by Palestinian artists to be the year in which they would forcefully launch their new movement.

Several young artists, fresh out of school, exhibited their artwork simultaneously in several Palestinian towns. There were exhibitions by the young Suleiman Mansour and Issam Badr, a joint effort by Nabil Anani and Rihab Namari, Mohammed Abd al-Salam and others. Their subject matters ranged from realistic scenes of the simple but harsh environment of Palestinian villages and refugee camps to children alienated but hopeful for a better tomorrow

These artists utilised varied technique: realism, abstract expressionism, impressionism and surrealism. Their common message was one of suffering and oppression, of demanding liberty and radical change, and of disillusionment. Their common denominator: an emphasis on the Palestinian entity. Their persistent use of the four colours of the Palestinian flag (red, black, white and green) in their paintings symbolised the distinctly Palestinian character and style of their movement.

The artists' debut was met with public enthusiasm and encouragement. The powerful themes in their works seemed to utter the feelings of the masses and to express them more succinctly than the people might have been able to do themselves.

The Years Hence

Encouraged and confident the young artists joined hands in 1974 to establish the first Palestinian Artists guild. The guild programme, according to artist Nabil Anani, was to begin a campaign of public awareness about art and the role it can play in society, to encourage and sponsor art and cultural research and to unify the art movement despite the wide diversity of political views and cultural background represented.

According to Israeli military law, however, no guild or union can be established in the occupied territories without prior permission of the military authorities. Accordingly, the artists, totalling 18 young men mostly in their mid-twenties, sent an official request to the military governor of the West Bank. They then waited for 12 months without an answer before deciding to establish their guild unofficially. They had no regular meeting schedule and no headquarters. As a result, none of the guild's original objectives were implemented and artists were left to depend on their own personal efforts to popularise the new movement, Anani maintained.

In 1976 a joint effort by 15 artists introduced the Palestinian art movement to the West. A joint exhibition was opened in London, and a few months later in the United States. Reaction to their exhibition was phenomenal, according to artist Suleiman Mansour, whose powerful paintings dominated the exhibition. The effort was fruitful, he said, adding that "although most people who came to see our work found its subject matter strange and perhaps unrelated to their immediate concerns, they commended us on what they said were our promising talents and powerful style." Reproductions of their work were then in popular demand, especially by Palestinian and various Arab communities abroad, Mansour said.

The period between 1973 and 1977 was the high point of the movement after which it began to rapidly decline in power and influence. The reason behind the movement's current weakness and inability to achieve its national goals are numerous.

"Palestinian artists, in particular, having been brought up in an environment of oppression, violence and war, became a part of the process of rebellion against these conditions."

No Market

The local market for art in the West Bank and Gaza has virtually ceased to exist, never becoming the market of a conscience-raised public as they had hoped. This forced most artists to acquire full-time jobs outside art to support themselves and their dependents. Nabil Anani, a prominent painter now residing in Ramallah, gained employment at the al-Tireh Women's College run by UNRWA. He used to produce 12 to 16 highly profesional art works a year but could not sell more than one or two. The reason behind this lack of demand, Anani claims, is "the harsh economic conditions that Palestinians in the occupied territories live in."

Inflation is running at more than 400 percent and the Israeli shekel is being devaluated at a rate of 10 percent per week. This reduces the buying power of the average Palestinian consumer to mere basic necessities. In fact most purchases of the artists' work are made by western visitors and international groups. A salesperson at the National *(Ibn Rushd)* Publishing House claimed that 90 percent of the company's sale of local art in the past year has been to non-Palestinians. *Ibn Rushd* sells reproductions, posters and postcards of Palestinian paintings.

The weak market is also attributed to the lack of awareness and lack of art appreciation by the populace, some artists complain. Mansour said, "Most people buy a painting only to hang it later in their living rooms, so pleasant and unsophisticated paintings appeal to them more than mine." "Although the average man understands the complex messeges that we try to convey in our art," he said, "he lacks the art education to enable him to appreciate the different styles and colour compositions we utilise."

No Education

Art is not taught as a serious subject in public or private schools in the occupied territories. The teachers responsible for the non-compulsory art classes, which may or may not meet once a week, are often trained in science or literature and the class is spent on mere pastime handcrafts. Only last year an art supervisor was appointed to the department of education in the West Bank.

There is only one specialised fine art institute in the occupied territories, the Bethlehem-based Institute For Fine Arts of the Arab Women's Union. Established in 1975 by art Professor Fawsi Nastas, a Palestinian artist who obtained his art education in Milano, Italy, the institute offers one and two-year courses in drawing, painting, sculpture, and wood carving. It graduates 17 young artists per course. Its purpose, according to Professor Nastas is to "improve and expand the art movement in the West Bank and Gaza." and also "to offer those young aspiring artists who cannot afford to get training abroad, a chance to utilise and develop their talents at home." Students at the institute pay minimal tuition fees and are offered courses in art history in addition to practical training.

Studies at the institute are limited to three days a week for three hours per day. It does not offer fulltime studies because of the small number of enrolled students, most of whom have part-time jobs. The institute's inability to provide full-time courses has prevented it from being registered as an official educational institute by the education ministry of Jordan. Thus, the certificates that successful students obtain at the end of their study courses are not locally accredited.

Few are discouraged by the non-accreditation of the institute, however. Majed Nakfory, a 26-year-old artist who graduated from the institute only last year, maintains that "most institute applicants consider the good repution and high standards of the institute when they apply." The serious art student who wishes to establish a career in art will find satisfaction in the institute, according to Nakfory.

Nakfory opened his first two-week exhibition of his work October 4 at the *El-Hakawati* Theatre in East Jerusalem. His watercolour renditions of Palestinian villages and landscape showed originality and promising talent. Nakfory is one of the first Palestinian artists to exhibit primarily watercolour work. His paintings are purely realistic and void of any political symbolism, meaning he is yet to enter the ranks of the Palestinian art of resistance. His main project, however, is to tackle political art, said Nakfory.

The four major universities in the West Bank also have no fine arts colleges and are not planning to include art education in their syllabi for a few years to come. While many vocational schools offer art classes, they are often not taken seriously and have yet to produce talented artists.

The largest obstacle yet that stands in the way of Palestinian artists in developing their movement is the stringent conditions that the Israeli military rule imposes on them. Freedom of art expression is hardly a familiar concept in this troubled area of the world.

Palestinian artists are often prevented from exhibiting their work in the West Bank and Gaza. There are numerous cases of military harassment and persecution of artists. Aspiring Gazan artist Fathi Ghabin was arrested in May of this year and charged with incitement. He was imprisoned for four months. In court the prosecution's case against the artist centered mostly around his use of the four colours of the Palestinian flag.

Ibn Rushd, the only local institution that markets the art of Palestinian painters, was closed several times by the military. The manager, Mahmoud Arian, was also arrested for selling this local art.

This Palestinian art movement which has for the last ten years, been painting Palestinian history in realist or symbolic shapes and colors is weakening and is in danger of extinction. To prevent such a tragedy, a national support programme is needed. Palestinian universities and education departments, whose patriotic responsibilities equal that of our freedom fighters, ought to encourage the Palestinian artists' activities. They can do this by aiding the artists financially and morally, by sponsoring their exhibitions and services and by implementing public artistic awareness campaigns.

This unique art movement is also in desperate need of documentation, classification and analysis. There exists no qualified study in the local market of this movement or any other Palestinian art movement. Palestinian universities and the literary communities would do the Palestinian community a great deal of good if such a study were under taken. One local observer stated that Palestinian political art may take a back seat in the near future to a new wave of folkloric representations. In these folkloric pieces, artists will be presenting fewer violently revolutionary themes in exchange for pastoral scenes of the village and other aspects of local life. For Palestinian art in a revolutionary sense to survive it will take a revolutionary commitment of Palestinians and the international community as well.

Above: Posters on sale at *Ibn Rushd* bookstore: *"Ninety percent of the company's sale of local art has been to non-Palestinians."* **/BA photo. Left: Painting by Fathi Ghabin, Gaza artist imprisoned for using the four colours of the Palestinian flag:** *Anti-occupation art.*

Evacuation practice in Mamilla neighbourhood, now a playground for the Israeli army: *"Twelve out of 15 residential quarters... were seized by Israel in 1948 and were emptied of their Arab inhabitants."*

In this second part in the series on *The Question of Jerusalem* by **Henry Cattan**, the founders of Jerusalem are revealed to be the ancestors of the Palestinians, the Canaanites. Cattan also looks at the current state of affairs in which three appellations of Jerusalem exist.

The Question of Jerusalem

continued from last week

The Founding of Jerusalem

Jerusalem is one of the oldest cities in the world. According to Josephus who wrote in the first century of our era, it was founded by the Canaanites. Josephus wrote: "But he who first built it [Jerusalem] was a potent man among the Canaanites, and is in our tongue called Melchisedek, *The Righteous King*, for such he really was; on which account he was [there] the first priest of God, and first built a temple [there], and called the city Jerusalem, which was formerly called Salem.

As Melchisedek was a contemporary of Abraham, this would date the founding of Jerusalem in the 18th century BC. Hence, the city was in existence several centuries before the arrival of the Israelites to the land of Canaan. In fact, the Jewish Encyclopedia mentions that in Hebrew annals "Jerusalem is expressly called a 'foreign city' not belonging to the Israelites, and the Jebusites are said to have lived there for very many years together with the Benjamites."

Without ascribing any particular date to the founding of Jerusalem, Father R. du Vaux, an eminent archaeologist, states that about 1800 to 1550 BC, Jerusalem was one of several cities protected by ramparts which sprang up in Palestine.

It seems necessary to stress the fact that Jerusalem was founded by the Canaanites long before its capture by David because some present-day Israeli politicians falsely claim that it was founded by the Jews. Thus at the time of the capture of the Old City of Jerusalem in June 1967, Yigal Alon, then Israel's deputy prime minister, was reported by the press to have said: "The world must reconcile itself to the fact that the city has at last returned to the nation that founded it and turned it into a Holy City" when, in fact, Jerusalem existed as a Canaanite sacred city for several hundred years before the Israelites set foot in Palestine.

The fact that Jerusalem existed long before the arrival of the Israelites is further borne out by its vassalage at a period of its history to the Pharaohs of Egypt. The Tel al-Amarna Tablets, which were discovered in 1887 but date back to the 14th century BC, embody appeals made to the Pharaoh of Egypt by the King of the city — then called *Urusalim* — for assistance against invaders. In fact, Jerusalem was under the overlordship of the Pharaohs between the 15th and the 12th centuries BC.

Jerusalem was inhabited by the Jebusites, a Canaanite subgroup. It was one of the oldest and most illustrious royal cities in the country and for some 800 years it remained a purely Canaanite city.

Old City, Modern Jerusalem and *Corpus Separatum*

Throughout history there has always been one city of Jerusalem, but as a result of demographic and political developments new appellations were coined to describe three different urban areas of the city. These new appellations were: Old City, Modern Jerusalem and *corpus separatum* of the City of Jerusalem. An explanation of these new appellations is necessary for a proper understanding of the *Question of Jerusalem*.

Jerusalem has at all times been a walled city. The present massive walls of the Old City were built in 1542 by Suleiman the Magnificent, the Sultan of Turkey. In the Old City are found the Holy Sepulchre and other Holy Places of Christianity. Within the Old City are also found the two famous mosques of the Dome of the Rock and al-Aqsa. The two mosques stand in an area called *Haram al-Sharif* by the Muslims and Temple Area by the Jews who consider it the site of the Temple of Solomon.

Until the 19th century the inhabitants of Jerusalem lived in the Old City and no buildings or habitations existed outside its ramparts. The gates of the city were locked every day in the evening not to be opened until the following morning. As the population of the city increased in the latter half of the 19th century, new residential quarters were built outside its walls by Arabs and Jews. Two appellations then became in use: the 'Old City' to describe the walled city, and 'Modern Jerusalem' or the 'New City' to describe the new residential quarters which grew up outside the walls. Following the war of 1948 during which the Jews occupied most of the area of Modern Jerusalem and Jordan occupied the Old City, including a small section of Modern Jerusalem lying to the east and to the north, new appellations came into use, such as 'Jewish Jerusalem' and 'Arab Jerusalem' to indicate the sectors occupied respectively by the Jews and the Arabs.

These appellations, however, are completely erroneous because there is not a 'Jewish Jerusalem.' It seems necessary to emphasise that while the Old City, to the exception of its old Jewish quarter, is entirely Arab and is inhabited by both Christians and Muslims, Modern Jerusalem was until its seizure by Jewish forces in May 1948 a mixed urban area comprising several residential quarters, inhabited by Christians, Muslims and Jews. In fact, Modern Jerusalem comprises 15 Arab residential quarters in which lived the majority of the Christian and Muslim inhabitants of Jerusalem. Twelve out of those 15 residential quarters — namely, Katamon, Talbieh, Ratisbonne, Greek and German colonies, Musrarah, Nebi Daoud, Mamillah, Deir Abu Tor, Upper and Lower Bakaa and Sheikh Jarrah — were seized by Israel in 1948 and were emptied of their Arab inhabitants.

A rough estimate of non-Jews who lived in Modern Jerusalem in 1945 was given by Rev. Charles T. Bridgeman in a communication to the Trusteeship Council dated January 13, 1950 as being 24,000 Christians and 21,000 Muslims. It is estimated, however, that the number of Palestinian Arabs who were displaced from Modern Jerusalem in 1948 amounted to about 60,000.

Neither was Modern Jerusalem Jewish in land ownership. Most of its buildings belong to the Palestinians, even in some of the Jewish quarters. Roughly speaking, the Jews own an insignificant part of the Old City (less than one percent and about one-quarter of Modern Jerusalem. The exact percentages of Arab and Jewish land ownership in the urban area of Jerusalem in 1948 were calculated by Sami Hadawi, a former government officer of the department of land settlement, on the basis of survey maps and taxation records. These percentages are as follows: Arab-owned, 40 percent; Jewish-owned, 26.12 percent; Others (Christian communities), 13.86 percent; government and municipal, 2.9 percent; and roads and railways, 17.12 percent.

Jewish land ownership outside the urban area is quite insignificant. The official Statistics of the Government of Palestine indicate that in 1946 the percentage of Jewish land ownership in the sub-district of Jerusalem did not exceed two percent.

To the preceding appellations, one must add a third one: the *corpus separatum* of the City of Jerusalem. This new appellation is derived from Resolution 181 of the General Assembly of November 29, 1947, which called for the partition of Palestine into Arab and Jewish States and for the creation of a *corpus separatum* for the City of Jerusalem to be subject to a special international regime administered by the UN. The Resolution also provided that the City should be demilitarised, its neutrality should be declared, and no paramilitary formations or activities should be permitted within its borders.

The City of Jerusalem was delineated by the Resolution to include the municipal boundaries of Jerusalem as they existed at the time plus the surrounding villages and towns: the most eastern of which was Abu Dis, the most southern, Bethlehem, the most western Ein Karem, and the most northern Shu'fat. By extending the area of the internationalised zone beyond municipal limits, the General Assembly sought to include certain Holy Places and sites namely, Bethlehem, Bethany and Ein Karem, birthplace of Saint John the Baptist.

The population of the *corpus separatum* of the City of Jerusalem as it stood in 1946 is shown in the table which was then prepared for the UN (see chart below).

Muslims	Christians	Others	Total number of Arabs and others	Jews	Total
60,560	44,850	130	105,540	99,690	205,230

This was the position with regard to population and land ownership in Jerusalem in May 1948 when the British mandate came to an end and the war erupted between the new State of Israel and the neighbouring Arab States.

continued next week

Anti-Democratic Views Run Deep Among Israeli Teens

Israeli youth have been characterised recently as lacking democratic values, and leaning towards intolerance and chauvinism. In this report published in *HaAretz* October 15, two researchers for the Van Leer Institute reveal the depth of these youths' anti-democratic views, particularly in reference to the Palestinian Arabs.

A recent study on the attitudes of Israeli youth about democracy, carried out by Mina Tzemach and Ruth Dayan on behalf of the Van Leer Institute, has come out with a number of findings that will give many people cause for concern. Negative tendencies are apparent in regards to the human rights of the Jewish population and especially as concerns the rights of the Arab population living in Israel and the occupied territories.

The picture of the Israeli teenager that emerges from the study is one characterised by a good deal of intolerance, chauvinism, and a propensity to curtail basic human freedoms. One-third of those interviewed hold democratic attitudes; 25 percent anti-democratic attitudes; and approximately 40 percent veer between the two, depending on the issue at hand. Generally speaking, as concerns the attitudes of Israeli teenagers toward non-Jews and particularly Arabs, over half of those questioned hold views which can be termed anti-democratic.

The level of correlation among attitudes towards various democratic issues was low. When questions were formulated to bring direct violations of democracy to the forefront, the percentage of respondents who upheld democratic positions increased. Hence, the impression that democratic norms have not been satisfactorily internalised and/or respondents do not understand the meaning of democracy. In contrast, answers to questions about the Arabs were marked by a high level of correlation and attitudes towards Israeli Arabs and Arabs living in the occupied territories did not vary in a substantial manner. Hence, the conclusion that prejudice (or, in the terminology used in the study, basic attitudes) to Arabs are fixed and, as such, determined the correspondents answers.

"60 percent of those interviewed believe that Israeli Arabs are not entitled to equal rights."

The relation between attitudes and socio-demographic variables were found to be quite steady in regards to the majority of attitudes under examination:

— The tendency to hold democratic attitudes increases with age.

— Democratic attitudes are more evident among secular teenagers than among those from traditional homes and more evident among the latter than their Orthodox peers.

— Democratic attitudes are more prevalent among females than males.

— Democratic attitudes are more common among teenagers of Western origin than teenagers of Eastern origin.

— Democratic attitudes are more common among academic high school pupils than pupils studying at technical schools.

A young sephardic Jew pays his respects to the chief sephardic rabbi: *"It appears that teenagers from secular and Western family backgrounds are more inclined to take democratic stands than teenagers from Orthodox or Eastern family backgrounds."*

The findings of the study also revealed a link between chauvinism and anti-democratic attitudes:

— The percentage of teenagers who hold anti-democratic views is greater among those who support the annexation of the occupied territories than those in favour of territorial compromise.

— The percentage of those holding anti-democratic attitudes is greater among those who are sure that even if army service was not compulsory they would serve in the army.

— The percentage of anti-democratic attitudes is higher among those who are sure that if they were free to choose where they could live they would choose Israel.

A general picture of the attitude of Israeli teenagers can be garnered from the breakdown of their responses to a variety of questions. Among other things, 44 percent of those questioned support the legislation of a law prohibiting criticism of the government's policy regarding the Arabs by way of the mass media. Twenty seven percent believe that democracy should be curtailed in order to prevent those who oppose the government from expressing their views in public. Twenty one percent are convinced that media censorship should be increased.

"57 percent are in favour of deporting Arabs who refuse to accept Israeli citizenship from the occupied territories."

The propensity to curtail rights is most evident in regard to strikes and religion: 52 percent of those questioned would like to see the freedom to strike curtailed and 41 percent are for decreasing the privileges granted to *yeshiva* students.

As regards the rights of non-Jews in Israel, 60 percent of those interviewed believe that Israeli Arabs are not entitled to equal rights. Forty seven percent are for curtailing the rights of Israeli Arabs and the same number believe that Christians and Muslims should not be allowed to hold important public positions. Forty two percent favour the curtailment of democracy in order to deprive Israeli Arabs of their civil rights. Thirty seven percent believe that the rights of Christians should be curtailed.

The response to questions about the occupied territories was generally hawkish: 62 percent are in favour of the annexation of the occupied territories; 30 percent support the return of the territories in the framework of a peace treaty and appropriate security arrangements; 64 percent are opposed to granting voting rights to the Arabs living in the occupied territories, even if the territories are legally annexed to Israel.

Fifty seven percent are in favour of deporting Arabs who refuse to accept Israeli citizenship from the occupied territories. Forty six percent are in favour of granting groups that seek to harm the Arab citizens of the state the right to organise. Thirty eight percent said they supported groups which sought to avenge attacks on Jews and 25 percent are ready to join such groups.

Support for a political strongman is quite common among teenagers. Twenty nine percent would like to see a strong regime headed by leaders who are not affiliated with any of the parties.

Judging from the breakdown of answers, it appears that teenagers from Secular and Western family backgrounds are more inclined to take democratic stands than teenagers from Orthodox or Eastern family backgrounds.

One of the most interesting findings was about support for the increase or curtailment of the rights of different social groups. There was more support for granting those from Morocco more rights than any other group. On the other hand, Knesset members topped the list of those whose privileges ought to be curtailed. Fifty two percent of the young people questioned think that MK's should not have all the rights they enjoy at present.

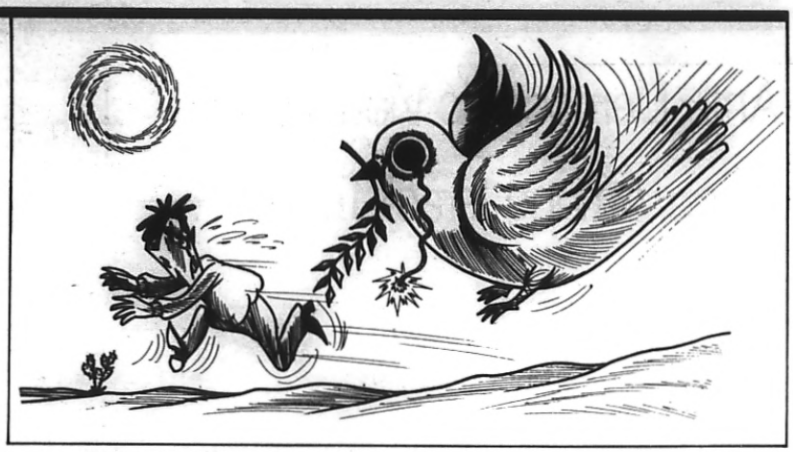
"60 percent are in favour of the annexation of the occupied territories."

It appears that among young people there is a good deal of support for capital punishment. Eighty three percent would like to see the death penalty instituted for terrorist offences; 65.5 percent are for the death sentence in case of kidnap and murder (by a Jew) and 56.6 percent are in favour of sentencing those found guilty of premeditated murder to death. Thirty five percent believe that those found guilty of raping a minor should also recieve a death sentence.

The study encompassed 651 young people. They represented a cross-section of Israeli Jewish society between the ages of 15 and 18. Kibbutz teenagers were not included. (Translation: HaAretz, October 15, 1984)

Sephardic Jews from Turkey and Iraq celebrate a holiday: *"Prejudice against Arabs is fixed."*

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS



The anti-Arab violence this week was given major coverage by the local Palestinian press. Papers featured photos, banner heads and editorials condemning the terrorist attack against the Hebron bus.

A number of editorials, however, were not published by the daily newspapers because of censorship.

Revelations of the existence of an underground Jewish terrorist cell were also covered.

Protests at Bethlehem University and at Dheisheh camp as well as Israeli military oppressive measures against protestors were covered daily in the press.

Camp David - No, PLO - Yes

The claims put forward by the Egyptian and Jordanian regimes that they restored full relations for the sake of Arab solidarity have begun to fall apart. The real aims of restoring the relations have begun to surface.

Mubarak's statements, reiterating previous statements by Egyptian and Jordanian officials, confirm the cooperation between the two countries to solve the Middle East problem. According to both parties the restoration of relations will open new avenues for peace. Behind all that, as Mubarak said, there is a common strategy for peace according to Camp David which Mubarak and his partners call peace agreement No 1.

Jordan rulers, turning to work out a common strategy with a regime that affirms its adherence to Camp David agreements means that these (Jordanian) rulers have abandoned Fez summit resolutions, and that they have blown up the base for any joint action with the PLO. They cannot combine a common strategy with the Camp David regime and a common strategy with the PLO, on the basis of the PNC 16th session and the Aden/Algiers agreement. Any attempt to combine these two strategies will be for the advantage of the Camp David strategy and will be against the interests of the Palestinian people.

AL TALIA
October 25

The Point of No Return

The statement attributed to Yasir Arafat, PLO Chairman, during his press conference in Kuwait indicates, if true, that his patience is at an end. The man has reached the point of despair over the lack of success of the intensive efforts, undertaken by Algeria, Yemen and other mediators, to eliminate the differences between him and the Syrian regime.

Arafat used to talk indirectly about the faults of the Syrian regime. He avoided mentioning Syria by name, and restrained from demonstrating his pain and anger at the Syrian (propaganda) campaigns and attempts to remove him from the PLO leadership.

Arafat put off the convening of the PNC waiting for the agreement of the Palestinian factions and waiting at the same time for a change in the Syrian attitude. He waited a long time... and reached the point of no return. So, he decided to play his cards and to convene the PNC in any Arab capital ready to play host.

It is something more than deplorable and more than painful. We do not exaggerate when we say that it is a disaster for relations between the Palestinian people, represented by the PLO, and the Syrian regime to reach this point of deterioration and recrimination.

We, in the occupied territories, being the most affected by this, look at it with sorrow, bitterness and horror.

The differences have continued for too long. And since Syria prevented Arafat from entering the Ummayad capital (Damascus) we here have been hoping that the wise would succeed in eliminating the causes of these differences which have reached the point of bitter enmity and black hatred. We cannot find any justification for them.

Anyway, the point to which Arafat has reached was inevitable.

Despite the severe agony we feel at the state of Syrian-Palestinian relations, we still hope that the PLO will maintain its international relations and its Arab and Palestinian stand.

AL QUDS
October 26

Peace, Not Illusory Improvement

There has been rumour in the Israeli media lately about a programme to improve living conditions in the West Bank and to develop the economic situation here.

Just a few days ago this rumour was put forward as a general plan of assistance without mentioning definite names and clear plans. But now the programme is being put forward in detail since its inception by American, Israeli and Jordanian officials to the point where it has become applicable.

We spoke about the programme in its general form, asserting that it was no more than a traditional economic cover to keep the inhabitants of the occupied territories busy and to distract their attention from the reality of everyday life. On the other hand it aims at striking the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people under the cover of improving the living conditions.

We say again that we do not expect any real development of our economic or living conditions in the occupied territories. How can we expect anything from American-Israeli-Jordanian sudden generosity, when the United States still insists on refusing to recognise our leadership represented by the PLO. As for the Israeli government, it realises more than anyone else that our suffering in the occupied territories stems from occupation itself rather than the bad living conditions. Jordan perhaps realises the same thing. We, here, are not seeking solutions to the marginal issues, while leaving the major issue unsolved.

We assert that any initiative to improve and develop our conditions in the occupied territories should start from a clear and drastic stand. It is the improvement and development of the chances for a just and comprehensive peace in the area. But the attempt to gloss over this fact will not hide anything. It will further complicate the problem.

AL FAJR
October 26

The Cowardly Aggression

The cowardly criminal aggression against the lives of innocent Palestinian citizens in Jerusalem is a new criminal link in the terror chain being carried out by malicious and extremist groups of Israelis, whom the authorities planted over the Palestinian land and gave them the arms to vent their hatred against the Palestinians.

There is no doubt that the stepping up of the aggression of these stray groups is a natural and inevitable result of the lenient policy of the Israeli government towards them, and a direct result also of the open support they get from Israeli official figures.

This terror chain cannot be accepted as being an individual act. So, we cannot absolve the Israeli authorities of the responsibility for it. The recurrence of the aggression which is using developed methods, to the point of using anti-tank missiles, indicates for sure that there is a plan and wide-scale organisation at the highest level behind these terror acts. The Israeli government's protestation that these barbarous acts are committed by "crazy" individuals is only a smokescreen hiding a terrible fact.

The Israeli government — an occupying force — according to international law and the Geneva treaty bears the responsibility for these attacks and their consequences. It also bears the responsibility through its ignoring of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, something which will lead to more crimes against this people.

While we strongly condemn this cowardly aggression on the Arab bus, we urge our Palestinian masses in the occupied territories to show the utmost alert and caution. We also call upon the United Nations and the international organisations to bear responsibility and to intervene to protect the Arabs in the occupied territories who have become the target for murder, oppression and terror.

AL FAJR
October 29

Soviets Won't Allow PLO Division

When the Soviet Union asserts through one of its officials that it will never allow the PLO to be divided, this clear assertion becomes a slap in the face to those relying on the regime of Hafez al-Assad to try repeatedly to divide the PLO. For Assad's regime, in turn, is dependent on the Soviet Union.

The Soviet assertion distinguishes between its support for the Arab regimes, foremost among them the Syrian regime, and its support for the national liberation movements, headed by the Palestinian national movement, represented by the PLO.

If the Soviet Union, the friend of the Arab peoples, has strong relations with the Syrian regime, this relationship does not necessarily mean that the Soviet Union agrees with the Syrian regime on all the latter's positions.

There is now the difference between the Soviet position, which supports the unity of the PLO and the independence of its political decision, and the Syrian position, which supports the dissidents, the hirelings, the opponents and those who seek to destroy PLO unity and to create alternatives to the PLO.

We appreciate the statement of the Soviet official and consider it as evidence of the isolation of the so-called Nationalist Alliance, especially when the factions of this Alliance try to cover themselves under leftist slogans on one hand, and try to show that the PLO position under the leadership of Yasir Arafat is reactionary on the other.

Are we to believe the Soviet Union will support Palestinian rightist reactionaries and abandon Palestinian revolutionary progressives?

This is a senseless contradiction distorted so as to pass the American-Syrian actions as shown by the Murphy-Assad talks.

Such actions and schemes will never be allowed to pass. The 17th session of the PNC to be convened soon will affirm the ability of the Palestinian people to protect their will and unity.

AL FAJR
October 27

International Commission of Jurists Criticises Harassment of WB Universities

The Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and the World University Service (UK) published a report October 24 criticising Israeli authorities for unreasonable "harassment" of higher education institutions in the occupied territories.

In the report published in England, three university professors — Adam Roberts, reader in international relations at St. Antony's College, Oxford; Boel Joergensen, president of the University Centre of Roskilde, Denmark; and Frank Newman, professor of international law at the University of California, Berkeley — charged that Israeli harassment of West Bank universities "goes beyond what might be reasonably justified on the grounds of public order or security."

The report also criticised the 'loyalty oath,' introduced by Israeli authorities two years ago, following the imposition of 'civil administration,' as an attempt to force foreign workers to make political statements. The oath states that the signer does not support the PLO.

The mildest criticism levied against Israel was directed at military order 854, by which Israeli authorities attempted to spread their control over West Bank universities. The three professors, who visited several universities in the occupied territories last November, recommended that the order be rescinded because it represents a "potential threat" to academic life. The statement went on to say that this creates "distrust and prevents sensible coexistence."

The report also credited Israel for the establishment of universities in the occupied territories. Roger Heacock, professor of contemporary history at the University of Paris who is currently lecturing at a West Bank university, expressed reservations about the report. Commenting on the report's mild praise of Israel as the force behind development of West Bank universities, Heacock said that there was nothing that the Israelis could have done to prevent their establishment. "The desire by the researchers to give a balanced view was so great that a certain amount of objectivity was lost," he said. Heacock explained that the report wanted to address liberals, including the Israeli audience, in the hope of getting the Israelis to rescind their practices. Heacock said the report did not mention the excessive use of violence on the part of Israelis particularly the wounding of Palestinian university students by Israeli troops.

NOVEMBER 2,3,6 & 9

At the *El-Hakawati* Theatre: *El-Hakawati* presents *'Ali the Galilean*. Matinee performances for schools, call 280957 for time and ticket availability.

NOVEMBER 3

Symposium on Central America sponsored by the Israeli Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua. Featuring speakers from 11:00 am to 5:00 pm. Location: Kibbutz Harel with transportation available from Binyanei Ha'uma at 10:00 am. (Hebrew, some English).

NOVEMBER 4

At the *El-Hakawati* Theatre: Art exhibit by Gazan artist Taysir Barakat opening at 5:00 pm. The exhibit will be open until the 18th.

NOVEMBER 8

At the *El-Hakawati* Theatre: Charlie Chaplin's *The Kid*. Silent film, not to be missed! 7:00 pm.

COMING EVENT NOVEMBER 16

At the YMCA, East Jerusalem: *Scrabble* Evening. Everyone welcome including non-YMCA members. Game is in English but a high degree of proficiency in the language is not required. For more information contact Michel Asfour or Nazih Freij at the YMCA. Telephone: 282-375.

University Crisis

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ourselves," he said.

The compromise suggested by the CHE involved three of the student demands — the removal of the statement on the application saying that students will agree to future changes in regulations; the granting of a JD300 budget for the student council; and the setting up of a joint student-faculty committee to approve the school menu and to supervise food preparation.

The major area of disagreement between students and administration involves a student demand for a JD15 allowance a month for students. According to college requirements, every student enrolled must sign a contract specifying that student will work at least four years at a local hospital in return for their free nursing education. The college catalogue states students are to be awarded JD15 pocket money, as partial payment for their nursing services.

The college administration says, however, that at present they do not have the money and cannot give students any pocket money. Students insist, however, that the money has been received and that the college is merely hoarding it. Students accused the board of trustees of embezzlement and demand to see the financial records of the college.

Members of the CHE which distributes money for Palestinian educational institutions confirms that the college is suffering from a financial crisis. According to Khatib, the board of trustees has had to draw from a building fund intended to expand the college, in order to meet normal operational costs.

Three other items included in the student's original seven demands are full freedom in the dormitories, health insurance for each student and the construction of a college assembly hall.

Najah Awadallah, a member of the student council, told *Al Fajr* that students will be willing to suspend for the time being their demand for the JD15. As to the health insurance and freedoms in the dormitory, "students insist on their demands," she said.

Awadallah said students are badly treated by the administration and the house mother. She said that 75 students will continue their strike in the dormitories despite calls by the administration to student's parents telling them that their "daughters are out in the streets."

Ibrahimiya College

Studies at the Ibrahimiya Community College have also been suspended by an administration order. The order came after students carried out a strike on campus October 30 in addition to holding a rally.

Administration officials say they closed the community college as a means to protect college equipment. They claim the student rally erupted into a student brawl October 30. Student representatives, however, deny that any "improper actions" took place. A statement issued by the students and published in local papers said. "There was no chaos of improper action as the administration claims." The student statement said the strike and protest were in response to administration refusal to adhere to student demands.

Students at the college are demanding the establishment of a student council and the right to freedom of expression on campus.

The troubles in West Bank institutions of higher education have drawn the attention of many Palestinian institutions and personalities. The Jerusalem-based West Bank Federation of Professional Unions issued a statement October 26 calling students and administrators to a "dialogue in a spirit of national responsibility." The statement called for the protection of educational institutions from internal division and for the unity of the student bodies as a "live conscience against outside exploitation." The statement admitted the need to provide tuition for the needy and at the same time called for the university administrations to provide education at the highest levels. "The loss of one on the account of the other will mean a blow to either the educational level or democracy," said the union.

Al Fajr Arabic daily in a front-page unsigned column November 1 also called for the reopening of closed colleges and the end to student strikes. "Only through this quiet atmosphere will dialogue be possible," wrote *Al Fajr*.

Terrorist Attack

continued from page 1

On the same day there were related demonstrations and protest activities at Bethlehem University, in Dheisheh refugee camp and in Ramallah (see story page 3).

The attack on the Hebron bus triggered condemnation and applause from various Israeli groups and personalities. Peace Now movement issued a statement condemning the attack on the bus. The statement also condemned the killing of the two Israelis by a mentally ill Dheisheh resident. Peace Now's statement also established a link between the incident and the Israeli demonstration in solidarity with the TNT group which was held in Hebron a few weeks ago with the participation of Ariel Sharon, minister of industry and trade.

Top Israeli government officials, including Israel's Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Minister of Police Haim Bar-Lev, condemned the attack. Bar-Lev said the perpetrators were motivated by "racist, nationalist and extremist ideologies."

A number of Knesset members gave limited approval to the attack when they blamed the Israeli government "for not taking a firm stand on security matters." Knesset members Meir Cohen-Avidov, from the Likud, and Geula Cohen and Rafael Eitan, from the Tehiya-Tzomet movement, all tried to justify the terrorist act. Cohen-Avidov repeated the terrorists' statement when he told the Knesset that "Jewish blood will not be spilt without punishment." Eitan demanded that the government introduce the penalty of deporting troublemakers, presumably only Palestinian 'troublemakers.'

MK Meir Kahane, leader of the Kach movement, openly praised the attack and called on the public to support the actions of the terrorists.

Another Arab bus owned by the Hebron company was the target of a stone-throwing incident in a Jewish neighbourhood of Jerusalem October 30. The rear window was smashed. Fayez Qawasmi, director of the bus company, said he believes both bus attacks were deliberately aimed at harming the Hebron bus company. The bus station in Hebron, which is owned by the company, has been the centre of much controversy since settlers squatted there demanding permission to build a Jewish settlement.

Rabbi Hirsch, spokesperson for Neturi Karta movement, commented that "those who believe they can force the hand of God will discover sooner or later that they were totally mistaken, and incur irreparable damage to themselves and to their people."

The Committee for Solidarity with Bir Zeit issued a statement condemning the attack and stating that they had warned that the Jewish fascist underground was not eliminated. The statement said that "the Israeli government and people cannot avoid much longer the decision whether they want a democratic state without occupation and without settlers or a country ruled by fanatic religious fascist groups which will lead Israel to a civil war which might end in a tragedy for the whole area."

Self-Criticism

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building up of our society. We have to find ways to stop the emigration of talented Palestinians and encourage others to return to their homeland and contribute to building the future.

Our universities are now turning out thousands of graduates every year, but what is their future? Should we allow them to join others working in Israeli enterprises, or should we be drawing up long-term solutions for these people who are our hope for the future?

The universities themselves are working without a clear blueprint for the future. Students are being sent out without sufficient educational qualifications to compete in a tough market. University administrators lack coordination between each other or with the local business and industrial markets. Calls for serious improvements are pushed under the carpet by status seeking officials. Middle and vocational colleges which are a necessary addition to our universities have proven to be a source of wealth for money hungry businessmen. Thousands of students who have enrolled in these colleges in the past few years have discovered, too late, that the degrees they get are worthless in the real world in terms of vocational or business knowledge.

Of course it would be naive to think that these problems are easy to solve. It is very easy to blame the Israeli occupation, the oppressive Arab regimes and the rich Arab states who are not helping us enough. But, in my view, it is high time we woke up and faced the realities, and admitted our own faults and weaknesses. Our constant dependence on others must end. No one likes to help people who are not genuinely trying to help themselves. Similarly, the occupiers will never give in until they are forced to. We can no longer afford to silence self-criticism or to reward factional loyalty over competence. We can no longer wait for the Labour Party to win the Israeli elections or count on Jesse Jackson to force a change in US foreign policy. We cannot even wait for Arab unity to be achieved, much as it is needed. If we look inward and start working as a unified, persistent front, then we can expect history to take its rightful course.

WEEKLY REVIEW

Rescue workers evacuate wounded from the scene of the rocket attack on the Arab bus in Jerusalem October 28/RI photo

October 24, 1984

4 YOUTHS CHARGED WITH ATTEMPT TO KILL SOLDIER

HIZMA — Four Arab youths from the village of Hizma, north of Jerusalem, were charged in the Ramallah military court with attempting to assassinate an Israeli soldier last May, Israel Radio reported.

The soldier was on a hike in a wadi near the village when four youths attacked him and tried to steal his rifle, the Radio said.

The four youth are: Ali Kan'an, 19; Ali Mohammed Askar, 18; Rashad Askar, 21; and Muwafek Said al-Khatib, 18.

STUDENT UNDER TOWN ARREST

Israeli authorities have extended the town arrest on Khalil George Farhoud, a student at the Polytechnic Institute in Hebron, for another six months as of October 19 until April 1985.

This is the fourth successive town arrest placed on Farhoud.

VISITS TO JNAID PRISON

The International Red Cross office in Jerusalem has announced that Israeli authorities will allow five visits to Jnaid prison until the end of this year.

CALL FOR REPLACING AL-BIREH MUNICIPALITY

AL-BIREH — Representatives of al-Bireh residents have signed a petition to be submitted to Israeli authorities calling for replacing the mayor and town council members with a new committee of local Arab residents.

YOUTHS FINED

GAZA — The Israeli magistrates court in Gaza sentenced two youths from the village of Shafa 'Amr to six months' suspended and a IS200,000 fine after they were convicted of desecrating the Israeli flag and beating a person raising it.

VOLUNTARY WORK DAY

BEIT SAFAFA — A voluntary work day was held in the village of Beit Safafa near Jerusalem during which a fence was built around the village cemetery.

October 25, 1984

NAJAH MAY REOPEN NEXT WEEK

Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhak Rabin has notified MK Abd al-Wahab Darawsheh of the Labour Party that Najah University would be reopened next week, the Israeli daily *HaAretz* reported.

2 YOUTHS JAILED FOR MEMBERSHIP

HIZMA — The Ramallah military court sentenced two youths from the village of Hizma near Jerusalem to prison on charges of membership in an illegal organisation and manufacturing weapons.

The two youths are: Mahmoud Mohammed Jum'a al-Khatib, 20 months' imprisonment, and Haitham Abdel Nabi al-Khatib, 14 months' imprisonment.

MILITARY OBJECTIONS COMMITTEE LOOKS INTO LAND CASE

BEIT ULA — The Israeli military objections committee held a session in which it discussed the Beit Ula land case.

Authorities had decided to confiscate 800 dunums owned by the families of Nimr, Akel and Sarahin.

The committee decided to go see the land November 21.

PETROL BOMB IN DHEISHEH

DHEISHEH — Unidentified persons threw a petrol bomb at the home of Yasir Michel in Dheisheh camp. There were no damages or injuries.

COURT BANS WORK ON ARAB LAND

NAZARETH — The Israeli magistrates court in Nazareth issued an order banning workers from continuing to work on land owned by two Arab residents from the village of Eilout near Nazareth.

October 26, 1984

8 HOUSES DEMOLISHED

JORDAN VALLEY — Israeli authorities demolished eight wooden houses in the village of Bardala in the Jordan Valley on the pretext that they were unlicensed. The houses were built six years ago.

SHOPOWNERS SUMMONED TO MILITARY

The Israeli authorities have summoned merchants from Dheisheh refugee camp whose shops are located on the main road in the camp.

The shopowners were asked to bring with them two personal photos to the Israeli military headquarters in Bethlehem on October 29.

IS10 MILLION FINE FOR MERCHANT

JENIN — The Israeli customs court in Beit El sentenced merchant Saleh Shukri of Jenin to a IS10 million fine on charges of not organising his accounts as required.

HEBRON UNIVERSITY OPENS

HEBRON — Studies at Hebron University will be resumed October 31. The number of students enrolled for the 84/85 academic year is 2000.

October 28, 1984

NEW ROAD PAVED NEAR RAMALLAH

RAMALLAH — Israeli bulldozers are at present paving a new road near the village of Ain Sinya north of Ramallah on the Nablus road.

The road is 30 metres wide and is located in Wadi al-Balat.

Villagers complained that the pavement of the new road will lead to the removal of many of their olive trees, the main source of their income.

AL FAJR REPORTER SENTENCED

RAMALLAH — *Al Fajr* reporter in Ramallah, Mahmoud al-Ramahi, was sentenced by the Israeli military court in Ramallah to four months' suspended and a IS60,000 fine on charges of possessing illegal material.

RESIDENT RELEASED

JENIN — Israeli authorities released Sultan Abd al-Rahman Hussein Abu Hassan from the village of Silit al-Harthiyeh in the Jenin district after serving an eight-month prison term.

He was charged with making hand grenades.

CUSTOMS RAID ON TULKARM

TULKARM — Israeli customs officials have raided several shops in Tulkarm in the last two days and imposed heavy fines on merchants ranging between JD1000 and JD5000.

The merchants called on the municipality to interfere with the authorities to stop the provocative raids.

NEW SCHOOLS IN NABLUS

NABLUS — The Israeli education officer in the 'civil administration' has agreed to build a number of new schools in Nablus.

HOSPITAL TO BE BUILT IN BEIT SAHOUR

BEIT SAHOUR — An American institution has decided to build a hospital in Beit Sahour near Bethlehem. Land has been chosen for the planned hospital.

4 YOUTHS RELEASED ON BAIL

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus released four youths from the village of Beit Amin in the Qalqilya district on a IS450,000 bail until the beginning of their trial.

The four youths are accused of sabotaging Israeli bulldozers working on their lands.

They are: Kamal Mahmoud Awwad, Bilal Mohammed Ahmed Hamad, Yousef Uthman, and Ibrahim Abdullah Ahmed.

COURT REJECTS DETAINEE'S APPEAL

LYDDA — The Israeli military court in Lydda has turned down the appeal of Samir Hilu of Jericho who is serving a three-year prison sentence on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

Hilu was detained earlier this year after being deported from Jordan by the authorities there.

October 29, 1984

OBJECTIONS COMMITTEE SURVEYS LAND

BETHLEHEM — The Israeli Military Objections Committee and advocates of villagers from Ubeidiyeh near Bethlehem surveyed land which was sold by forgery to an Israeli company by land brokers.

The land is estimated at 6000 dunums.

YOUTHS JAILED

RAMALLAH — The Israeli military court in Ramallah sentenced Hamdan Uthman Barghouti, from the village of Beit Rima in the Ramallah district, to eight months in prison and 16 months suspended on charges of membership in an illegal organisation.

The court also sentenced Haitham Mahmoud Hilu, from the village of Hizma, to 14 months in prison and one year suspended. They also sentenced Mahmoud Ahmed Subieh, from the same village, to 20 months in prison and 20 months suspended.

DETAINEES THANK FAYZEH ABDEL MAJIUD

NABLUS — Palestinian political detainees in Jnaid prison in Nablus have expressed their gratitude and appreciation to Fayzeh Abd al-Majid, head of the Association for Defending the Rights of Prisoners, in recognition of her efforts and services

to Palestinian detainees in Israeli prisons.

5 YOUTHS STAND TRIAL FOR STONE-THROWING

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus looked into the case of five Jericho youths charged with throwing stones at an Israeli army vehicle three months ago.

VOLUNTARY WORK

BEIT FAROUQ — Committee No. 76 for voluntary work and Bir Zeit University students held a voluntary work day at the village of Beit Farouq in the Nablus district during which they helped villagers pick olives.

October 30 1984

BOMB EXPLODES IN REFUGEE CAMP

JABALYA — A bomb went off in the refugee camp of Jabalya in the Gaza Strip Monday night, military sources said.

No one was hurt and there was no damage. Israeli troops combed the area.

CRACKDOWN ON UNIONISTS

YA'ABAD — Israeli forces stormed the building housing the Union of Construction Workers and General Institutions in the village of Ya'abad near Jenin and confiscated several books and documents.

UNIONIST PLACED UNDER TOWN ARREST

JERUSALEM — Israeli authorities imposed a six-month town arrest order on Majed Labadi, a unionist from Jerusalem.

DURA YOUTH JAILED

NABLUS — The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced student Mohammed Jamal Jabarin from the village of Dura near Hebron to four months imprisonment and two years suspended plus a IS50,000 fine on charges of throwing stones.

DHEISHEH YOUTH RECOVERING

DHEISHEH — Majed Nimer Odeh, 20, a resident of Dheisheh refugee camp, is reported to be in good condition after sustaining injuries in his right leg during clashes at Bethlehem University October 29.

Majed is hospitalised in Makassed Hospital in East Jerusalem.

MONEY CONFISCATED

The Israeli military authorities have confiscated the sum of US$57,000 belonging to three Palestinian residents crossing the bridges from Amman to the West Bank.

West Bank Police

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charges. In certain cases, actions to prevent or foil police investigations were carried out."

More than one police source has complained that a top government official has led Israelis living in the occupied territories to believe that they are soldiers and thus only answerable to the investigators of the army and not to those of the police. The residents of the occupied territories rely on this "understanding" and refuse to cooperate with the police. They claim that by virtue of government policy, they can refrain from cooperating with the police on certain issues.

In a pamphlet distributed on March 24, 1982 by the Kiryat Arba local council the residents were called on "not to cooperate with the police and to refuse to answer any questions. Moreover, at this point, one must not reply to the questions of army investigators unless one obtains their word that the material will not be transferred to the police or the district attorney's office in Jerusalem." Actually, the settlers have been waging a campaign against an official body for quite some time in order to circumvent the law in the occupied territories by hiding behind the back of the administration.

The importance of the Karp report for police work lay in its publication. The general public became aware who was running the show in the occupied territories. The police force there, which gets its budget from the ministry of defence and is subordinated to the military administration, is only a part of the apparatus; the quality of its work in the majority of cases depends on the good will of the administration.

To a certain degree, the police were strengthened by the publication of the conclusions of the Karp Commission. For the first time since the 1967 war, the quality of police work and the regulations governing the force were changed. In February 1984 the minister of the interior announced, in response to a question put to him in the Knesset, that the police force would be augmented and the number of investigators doubled. He also said that he was considering the establishment of an additional police station in the occupied territories.

Given the special circumstances under which the police in the occupied territories operate and the problems they encounter there, their accomplishments seem all the more worthy of praise. Crime in the occupied territories has not reached the proportions it has within the 'green line.' In 1983, 3, 4282 criminal files were opened in the southern West Bank, 100 of which were cases of breaking and entering. In comparison, 22,392 criminal files were opened in the Jerusalem region, whose population is of the same magnitude, with 2818 of them being cases of breaking and entering.

Around the clock presence in most Arab homes, in keeping with the traditional way of life, provides few opportunities to break into empty homes. A relatively serious wave of burglaries recently hit the Southern West Bank; the most publicised of which were the burglary of the White Russian Church and a daring robbery carried out by Israeli Arabs from Lydda who stole a police car and dressed up as Israeli soldiers.

The police regularly find themselves arbitrating in family conflicts, holding *sulhas* (peace meetings) in order to prevent revenge attacks over the loss of family honour and keeping the peace between different ethnic groups (basically in connection with the control of holy places in Bethlehem). The army and police commanders have always avoided involving local policemen in actions against perpetrators of hostile acts in order to prevent an adverse reaction by hostile organisations operating in the occupied territories.

As regards the professional ability of Arab policemen, Police Chief Ezra Kleig said: "They are professional policemen. Over the past few years we have recruited some excellent men. The rate of success of the Arab policeman is higher than that of his Jewish counterpart. They work by the English method: when they get a criminal file, they investigate it from the bottom up." (Translation: Kol Ha'ir, October 19, 1984)

Messianic Politics

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there can be no place for the devil or the spirit of impurity."

According to Amital, in the 1973 war Israel fought against the impurities of Western civilisation, which had succumbed to the oil-exporting states and thus stood in opposition to the messianic process. Finally, for Amital, the war was a purification rite, whereby the Kingdom of Israel was given the opportunity of cleansing itself of Western rationale, for although the Land of Israel had been conquered, the soul of Israel had yet to be totally purified.

Professor Tal pointed out that observant Jews who adhere to the ideology of Gush Emunim consider the "word of God" to be concrete fact; indeed, their lives are governed by religious precepts and they have no qualms about using "the word of God" to justify their beliefs. For them, the Land of Israel — and not Man — is holy; every stone, every pebble and every speck of dirt is sanctified.

The concept of holiness attached to the Land of Israel is a relatively new development. Tal sees it as a regression to the ancient fundamentalist perspective shown in the Old Testament: "And ye shall drive out the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein; for unto you have I given the land to possess it."

The sanctity of the land is above question, whether it be Israel proper or the lands occupied in 1967. Israeli sovereignty is a God-given right and there is no room for compromise. Tal points out that the archaic covenant between the patriarch Abraham and God serves as the basis for the political thought of Gush Emunim — in the 20th century!

Tal repeatedly stressed the fact that he wasn't talking about a small marginal group but rather a well organised movement whose members are highly motivated and believe they are witnessing the unfolding of the messianic process. The fundamental ideas of the Western enlightenment — liberty and equality — are alien concepts for them. Indeed, although the specific content of their beliefs are unique, observed Tal, the form they take bear an unmistakable resemblance to 20th century totalitarian movements.

As regards their attitude to non-Jews living in the Land of Israel, Tal outlined three basic attitudes: one, that their rights ought to be limited; two, that their rights should be totally abrogated; and three, the extremist standpoint, that Israel must resort to genocide.

The view of the "moderates" is that equal rights is a foreign, European principle which alienates the Jews from the Holy Land. The principle of equal rights is not binding and should not be applied to the Arabs living in the country. Their status should be that of "alien inhabitants" — in accordance with biblical tradition.

The second view, calling for the total abrogation of the human and civil rights of non-Jews living in the country, rests on the notion that the existence of Jews in Israel cannot be secure until the Arabs have emigrated from the country. This has been repeatedly discussed in *Nekuda*. And yet, the fact that such an idea causes revulsion and shock among the general public has forced them not to speak of it in explicit terms — for the time being. However, their basic outlook is that the Arabs have no place in the Land of Israel, and they are not at all susceptible to moral rebuttal — for the commandment to conquer the land is "above any moral or humanistic judgements regarding the rights of Gentiles to our country," says Rabbi Shlomo Avineri. The Jews have been commanded to be holy but not to be moral and the general principles of morality accepted throughout the world are not seen as being incumbent on "the Chosen People."

The third view rests on the identification of the Arabs with Amalek — an ancient tribe which was wiped out by the Jews in biblical times. Basically, this outlook amounts to incitement to commit genocide. Rabbi Israel Hess published an article entitled "The Biblical Commandment to Commit Genocide" in the Bar Ilan student journal *Bat Kol* on February 26, 1980. (Although he came under fire from opponents of Gush Emunim, the leaders of Gush Emunim did not criticise the views he expressed).

Hess wrote as follows: "The day is approaching when we will all be called on to fulfill the commandment to wage a holy war to wipe out Amalek." Hess quoted the Old Testament scripture in 1 Samuel: "Now go out and smite Amalek and utterly destroy all they have and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass."

Rabbi Hess bases his argument on the necessity of purifying the world by ridding it of the offspring of the impure union which produced the Amalekites — Israel's eternal enemy. The conflict between Israel and Amalek is seen as a battle between the forces of light and the forces of darkness, between the people of God and the agents of evil. For Rabbi Hess, the Amalekites are clearly identified as the Arab people.

In the final part of his lecture, Professor Tal stressed that it was not a matter of a single belief which could be isolated but rather that messianism was a comprehensive world system affecting all aspects of a believer's life. As such, those who adhere to messianic beliefs seek to realise their notions in the concrete world, operating in a pragmatic fashion in order to realise their ends.

Inspired by redemptive longings, these messianics mix cold-blooded political calculations with fanatical devotion, realising that given the fact that the majority of the Israeli population do not share their beliefs, they cannot realise them immediately. For them, the present age is one of observable miracles which sustain their belief. Nationalism is seen in cosmic terms, leaving no place for individualsim, for the lone individual cannot actualise himself outside of the national organism. Moreover, they see their lives bound up with the redemptive process; the conquest and settlement of the Land of Israel is a kind of purification rite whereby impure elements are sloughed off in both a political sense and a personal sense. This is indeed a total world view, which allows the settlers to express their innermost faith in a concrete fashion.

Professor Tal closed his lecture with the following words: "In summation, it would seem that what we have before us is a type of political messianism, in which the individual, the nation and the country can all claim divine providence... The danger in totalistic outlooks of this sort is that they lead to totalitarianism; the human and civil rights of anyone who is not Jewish are simply ignored."(Abridged from the text of Prof. Uriel's lecture, published in HaAretz October 1984)

Law and order on the West Bank has long been a relative term, relative to the status of suspected criminals. While Palestinians suspected of misdeeds are arrested, jailed and tried for the offences, Israeli settlers refuse to answer for their crimes to the local police forces but only to the military administration. *Kol Ha'ir* correspondent Yizhar Be'er looks at this and other problems facing the West Bank police.

West Bank Police Pinned In, Settlers Don't Recognise Jurisdiction

In the beginning of 1983, two Palestinian men — one from the village of Senjil and the other from Bani Na'im — were shot dead in the Hebron area. The passengers of a Kiryat Arba security car were summoned to appear at the regional police station in Bethlehem as suspects but they informed the police they would not come in to be interrogated as only the military administration was authorised to deal with them. The police did nothing to bring the suspects in for interrogation in spite of grave suspicions against them and no arrest order was carried out.

Three days after the events in the Bani Na'im village, a delegation visited the police station including the chairperson of the Kiryat Arba council and a representative of the Gush Etzion council. The members of the delegation announced they would not cooperate with the police or the Jerusalem prosecutor's office, which, in the view of the settlers, were both hostile bodies. They added that they would not submit their version of the events until ordered to do so by the political echelon. Although the delegation included one of the suspects in the shooting, he was not interrogated or asked to submit a statement. The police did not manage to obtain statements from the suspects until six days later.

This episode, one of many investigated by the Karp Commission, (a government team of inquiry headed by Yehudit Karp, the deputy legal advisor) reveals something of the conditions under which the police operate in the occupied territories. The police are supposed to preserve law and order but as long as the military administration "lays down the law" in the territories, the police have little chance of being able to operate successfully. Actually, they receive their orders from both the Israeli national police force, to which they are theoretically subordinated, and the military administration, which effectively dictates police policy. Likewise, the population of the West Bank must accommodate itself to a status quo in which the police, the security services and the army all operate, though not in tandem.

The police force is subdivided into three regions: North West Bank, South West Bank and Gaza. The South West Bank and the Gaza region are part of the southern district and the North West Bank is attached to the northern district. The administrative structure of the police in the occupied territories is similar to that within the 'green line': the regional command and local police stations belong to one of the national districts. But all similarity ends when it comes to the implementation of the law, which the police are supposed to uphold in the occupied territories.

On the West Bank there are three legal systems: Israeli law, Jordanian law and military law. The Arab population is subject to the local courts which operate in accordance with Jordanian law as it was practiced prior to the 1967 war, as well as the ordinances of the army commander in the territories. A local resident, accused of a criminal offence, is brought before the local court but security offences are tried by military courts. This setup allows the administration to reward and punish as they see fit. However, local criminal law does not apply to Israelis living in the occupied territories. In 1967 Israeli law gave Israeli courts jurisdiction over Israelis who committed criminal acts in the occupied territories. And so it is that Israelis suspected of criminal offences are interrogated and tried only within the 'green line.'

In addition to the tripartite legal structure which the police in the occupied territories must deal with, there are other strange phenomena brought about by 17 years of Israeli administration. Local Arab policemen are only authorised to deal with the local population and only in regard to breaches of civil and criminal law, such as family conflicts or traffic offences. Arab policemen are not allowed to deal directly with Israelis who break the law in the occupied territories or with Israelis living in the occupied territories. In such instances, the case must be transferred to their Israeli counterparts. There is thus a kind of symmetry: for each Arab investigator there is an Israeli investigator. Although both usually hold the same rank, the local Arab officer is always subordinated to his Israeli counterpart. An Arab policeman, for example, can signal an Israeli driver who has committed a traffic offence in his presence to pull over to the side of the road; he can check the driver's papers but he is not authorised to arrest him.

In respect to salary levels, those of Arab policemen fall below those of Israeli policemen. A local policeman with seniority makes about IS120,000 a month (as of August) as compard to IS160,000 that his Israeli counterpart takes home. But this is not seen as being unjust on account of local conditions. The salary of an Arab policeman on the West Bank is one of the highest in the public service sector in the territories. (It is calculated in accordance with the wage scale of the clerks employed by the 'civil administration.') A rookie cop begins with a salary roughly equal to that of a clerk with seniority and officers receive about as much as school principals.

Until 1970 the police in the occupied territories basically relied on Israeli manpower, whose level was quite low. At that time, police stations in the occupied territories were staffed by Israeli policemen, both in the cities and the refugee camps. The minister of defence at the time, Moshe Dayan, decided to let local residents run their own affairs insofar as it did not affect security or public order; he instituted certain changes in the police force and local policemen were recruited.

Dayan's policy seemed to have paid off, for it prevented unnecessary friction. The Israeli policemen and officers sent to the occupied territories were not from the elite of the force. "Israeli policemen were never trained for duty in the occupied territories; they weren't familiar with local laws and some of them didn't even know Arabic. Service in the occupied territories was considered a kind of exile. Any policeman who couldn't fit into his unit was sent to the territories," said former police commander Ezra Kleig, who served as the chief of detectives in the South West Bank from 1976 to 1983. Moreover, the manpower supply was inadequate; the police force was not beefed up until recently in spite of the fact that the population has doubled in the meantime. Whoever set down the guidelines in 1967 did not take the size of population into account, or, for that matter, the establishment of scores of Israeli settlements.

"A top government official has led Israelis living in the occupied territories to believe that they are soldiers and thus only answerable to the investigators of the army and not to those of the police."

"In a random survey of 70 files carried out by the team of inquiry headed by Karp, it was found that 53 files were closed without results having been obtained."

Actually, the police force was caught in a double bind. Until last year there were only a few score Jewish policemen in the whole southern West Bank, charged with enforcing the law over a population of half a million. Given this situation few investigations could be carried out in the proper manner.

There were many important cases that weren't investigated at all. In a random survey of 70 files carried out by the team of inquiry headed by Karp, it was found that 53 files were closed witout any results having been obtained. Some of the files involved more serious crimes such as attacks, shootings, property damage and illegal border crossings. "Generally speaking one can say that the West Bank police force is preoccupied with investigating complaints. Many criminal acts go uninvestigated," wrote Karp at the time. "The police force is not performing its duty to the extent it should in regard to being alert to what is happening in sensitive areas in order to prevent illegal acts from taking place."

In investigating conflicts between Jews and Arabs the police force is often stymied by both groups. In a letter to police chief Aryeh Ivtzan, the chief of detectives of the national force, Yehezkel Karti, wrote Febuary 7: "The police do not have the cooperation of large parts of the population, both Jewish and Arab. Without their willingness to relate revelant information to the police or report what they know, it is impossible to collect evidence on which to base

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